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AARON M. POWELL, *Editor.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Special Editorial Contributor.*

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"A LOST LEADER."

BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

How applicable to the case of William H. Seward are the words addressed to one of the fallen spirits in Milton's *Paradise Lost!*

> "If thou beest he; but oh, how fallen! how changed
> From him who in the happy realms of light,
> Clothed with transcendent brightness, didst outshine
> Myriads though bright!"

Though never an avowed Abolitionist, nor disposed to deny, disturb, or evade any of the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution, Mr. Seward, during the main portion of his public career, up to 1860, so encouraged the Abolitionists by his timely acts and stirring words, so explicitly announced the conflict between slavery and freedom to be irrepressible, and so impressively appealed to "the higher law" as against all unjust human enactments, that, of all our public men, it was his honorable distinction to be the most hated and feared by the Southern slave oligarchy. On all occasions, in Congress and out of it, he was the target at which they hurled their most deadly missiles. Every Southern journal represented him as nothing less than *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.* In all that section of country he was an ogre more dreaded than "an army with banners." Though highly appreciating and always warmly applauding whatever fell from his lips or inhered in his acts favorable to the Anti-Slavery cause, we never could fully understand why he so excessively affrighted the South; for no man spoke with more calmness, or more carefully elaborated his speeches, or kept himself more scrupulously within the bounds of simple and exact truth. Perhaps it was partly because he was seen to be "the bright particular star" at the North, steadily rising to the zenith of political power, in whose culmination (by his election to the Presidency of the United States, as then seemed an almost sure event) disastrous influences might be shed upon their imperilled "peculiar institution." Or, possibly, it was owing to a terror excited by those words of doom, "the higher law," "the irrepressible conflict," thundering in their ears, and startling their guilty consciences. At sight of him they exclaimed, as did Macbeth in presence of Banquo's ghost,

> "Approach thou like the rugged Russian bear,
> The arm'd rhinoceros, or the Hyrcan tiger;
> Take any shape but that, and my firm nerves
> Shall never tremble. Hence, horrible shadow!"

All this trepidation was vastly disproportionate to the object and the occasion: explainable only by that state of guilty insecurity which makes "the thief to fear each bush an officer."

Mr. Seward expected, beyond a peradventure, to be the Republican nominee for the Presidency at the Chicago Convention in June, 1860. Never were any politician's prospects of success fairer; never were they more suddenly blasted. Though at first receiving a powerful support in the Convention, Mr. Seward had to stand aside, and the election fell on Abraham Lincoln. From that time he became a sadly altered man, began to court Southern favor, was reticent on the subject of slavery, openly denied his doctrine of the "irrepressible conflict," failed any longer to discern "the higher law," and, as the result of his apostacy, was—to borrow a strong figure—

> "Hurled headlong flaming from the ethereal sky,
> With hideous ruin and combustion, down
> To bottomless perdition."

In other words, he has ever since been falling, falling, falling, till he has reached abysmal depths. His old malignant foes have ceased to assail him; his multitudinous friends and admirers, in days of yore, stand alienated from him, lamenting his degeneracy, and regarding his recovery as hopeless. Whatever corruption, perfidy, or usurpation has marked the course of Andrew Johnson since his ill-starred elevation to the Presidency, Mr. Seward has endorsed it to the letter. He is by far the more guilty of the two; he has sinned against light never vouchsafed to the half-civilized Tennessean; he has become recreant to principles which the former never professed. In all the loyal ranks there is now "none so poor as to do him reverence."

The latest exhibition of Mr. Seward's abasement is to be found in his recent letter to Mr. Motley, minister plenipotentiary at Vienna, in which he officially calls Mr. Motley to account, on the authority of an epistle received from "a citizen of the United States," for having, in the privacy of his home-circle, first, "expressed his disgust at the President's whole conduct;" second, exhibited his contempt for American Democracy, and "loudly proclaimed that an English gentleman is the model of human perfection;" and, third, branded Mr. Seward as "hopelessly degraded." The rejoinder of Mr. Motley is a model of dignified composition, becoming his character and station, and meets the proffered impeachment without circumlocution or evasion. He admits that in his views and feelings he goes with Congress, and not with the President, in the matter of reconstruction; and in this he proves himself to be a faithful representative of the American people abroad. As to the allegation that he despises American Democracy, and considers an English gentleman as the model of human perfection (!), he blushes while he denounces "so pitiful a fabrication." He appeals to all his writings in proof that a more fervent believer in American Democracy than himself does not exist. Finally, he pronounces the charge of having called Mr. Seward hopelessly degraded a "wild calumny." Evidently stung to the quick by this scandalous arrangement and peremptory call to plead guilty or not guilty, Mr. Motley concludes his letter by begging respectfully to resign his post as United States minister at Vienna. It is to be regretted that he felt compelled to tender his resignation by a proper self-respect, inasmuch as it did not logically follow as a duty from the tenor of his letter; and, after such an explicit disclaimer, he should have thrown the responsibility of his removal upon the President. Mr. Motley as a historian has a world-wide fame, and as an enlightened patriot is an honor to the the country he so ably represents abroad. However ready the President or Mr. Seward may be for his removal, we trust the Senate of the United States will insist on his remaining at his post. It is no trivial affair; but presents very grave aspects not only in relation to persons, but concerning the stability of the government itself.

As for himself, Mr. Seward had no more right to ask, in his official capacity, what Mr. Motley had said about him than he had to put the same question to the most obscure citizen. Especially was he debarred from so doing on the representations of a strolling emissary of mischief, who, though giving his name, was utterly unknown either to the President or to Mr. Seward; and of whom, to this hour, nobody pretends to know anything—so that it is probable the signature is a mere *nom de plume.* Mr. Motley, it seems to us, instead of proceeding to defend himself against the slanders of an anonymous accuser, should have first demanded his name of Mr. Seward before condescending to make a formal replication. It evinces utter loss of self-respect on the part of the Secretary of State, with the letter of "Geo. W. McCracken, of New York," in his hand—palpably written as it was in the spirit of a blackguard toward all the prominent foreign ministers—to have taken any notice of it whatever. McCracken's additional charge against Mr. Motley, that "there is not in all Europe a more thorough flunkey or a more un-American functionary" than he; his representation of Mr. Murphy at Frankfort as "vulgar, ignorant, and unworthy;" and his traducement of Mr. Hale at Madrid, Mr. Morris at Constantinople, Mr. McMath at Tangier, and Mr. Perry at Tunis, all demonstrated him to be animated by a malignant spirit, deserving of no other consideration than to have had his scurrilous epistle at once indignantly given to the flames. Alas for the once-honored William H. Seward!—*New York Independent.*

"RECONSTRUCTED" TERRORISM AND SLAVERY IN NORTH CAROLINA.

Hon. Wm. D. Kelley, in the House of Representatives, on the 12th inst., made an eloquent, effective speech in support of the Military Reconstruction bill. He made special reference to the situation in North Carolina, as fairly representing the general condition of the rebellious districts, and showing conclusively the urgent need of military interference for the protection of the blacks and the loyal whites. We extract the following:

Will gentlemen who deny the existence of war tell me what one murderer of a Union soldier has been brought to trial and punished by the civil authorities of these pretended States? The military arrested some few murderers and tried and convicted them, but through the machinations of Andrew Johnson, the present leader of the rebellion, they have been turned loose and have received the welcome of their fellow-citizens: "Well done, good and faithful servant." Thus the crimes of individuals are assumed by the communities of which they are members, and in the crimes and their assumption by the community we find a reply to the question whether the gentleman's state of siege be war or peace. Sir, if the present condition of the Union men of the South be peace, may God pity those whose country is at war! Let us in mercy assume that it is not peace, but war, and arm the Union men for their defense of home, family, and life. The bloody barbarities of the rebel captors at Fort Pillow disgrace the annals of civilized warfare; but atrocious as they were they are exceeded by the horrors inflicted by the so-called civil authorities of New Orleans upon the unarmed members of the Constitutional Convention and its friends gathered around it in that city. And, sir, the loathsome details of the sacking of Badajos are exceeded by the atrocities reported to us by the committee to inquire into what gentlemen on the other side of the House mildly term the "Memphis riots." Our abhorrence of the atrocities at Badajos is mitigated by the fact mentioned by Napier, that hundreds of soldiers attempted, and many lost their lives in the attempt to stay the outrages.

There is no mitigating fact of that kind in the report of the "Memphis riots" committee. The gentleman from Maine (Mr. Pike) has given us a picture of the condition of the Union men, soldiers and citizens, white and black, of South Carolina; and the report of the committee of which he is chairman contains, I am told, much more than we have yet heard. I beg leave to turn to the State of North Carolina for a few illustrations of their condition throughout the South generally. I select it, not because I regard North Carolina as the worst of these so-called States, but because, with the single exception perhaps of Florida, a Union man is as safe in North Carolina as elsewhere in the insurrectionary district.

I remember, sir, that about fourteen months ago three friends of mine from New England, one of whom must be known to the gentleman from Massachusetts—Mr. Thomas Drew, of Boston, formerly editor of the Massachusetts *Plowman*—returned to this city from North Carolina. They had gone thither to invest capital in renting or purchasing a plantation. They proposed to carry capital, seeds, and implements, and New England culture and thrift to the people of that State and to settle among them. But they had made no settlement. They were returning to cold and sterile Massachusetts. Do gentlemen ask why? It was because when they were about making a contract of lease or purchase for a property, one Roddick Carney and his father had notified the owner of the property that if he rented to the "Yankees" they would burn his dwelling and outbuildings; and with the same frank amiability notified my friends that if they purchased them every freedman they employed or "Yankee" they brought there to work should be murdered. "But did you believe them?" said I. "Oh, yes," said Mr. Drew, "for Roddick Carney had but a few days before, as he said for fun, shot two negro boys to show how good a marksman he was."

Some few weeks ago a discreet and courageous friend from another quarter of the country was going into the same State, and I begged him to let me hear his views of the condition of the people. I received a lengthy communication from him last Saturday. I will offer some extracts from his interesting letter, from which it appears that Roddick Carney would probably have executed his threats had my friends persisted in their patriotic and philanthropic enterprise. The writer says:

"Some fourteen months since one Roddick Carney with a few friends committed a number of outrages upon the loyal citizens of Beaufort and Pitt counties, and in mere wantonness shot and killed two negro boys. The civil authorities, neglecting or refusing to take any measures to arrest and punish these murders, a lieutenant with a squad of men was sent to arrest them. While they were endeavoring to arrest him, Carney shot and killed the lieutenant. Another unsuccessful attempt to arrest him was made by the military, and he is now living undisturbed in Beaufort county.

"This murderer, Carney, has in his possession a colored boy, named Joseph Wiggins, the son of a respectable negro man, and he refuses to give him up. The civil authorities profess that they are afraid to arrest him or have anything to do with Carney for the relief of the enslaved negro."

Fourteen months ago this man Roddick Carney perpetrated two unprovoked murders. Nearly fourteen months since he murdered a lieutenant of your army engaged in the performance of duty; and if the civil authorities are discharging their duties, if there be peace there, why in the name of law and justice is he living unmolested and respected in the community in which he dwells?

But let me read another extract from this same communication:

"Near Hillsborough, in Orange county, in November of 1866, a freedman who had raised a small quantity of corn invited a few of his friends to assist him in shucking it. In the evening while the party were singing and dancing, a rebel named —— C—— heard them, armed himself with a gun, went to the freedman's house, and with oaths and curses demanded to know what they were doing. The freedmen, frightened, attempted to escape, when he deliberately shot one of their number, killing him almost instantly. The coroner's jury returned a verdict of 'accidental homicide,' and there the matter rests."

Do not these statements portray a capital state of peace?

My informant is a cool, courageous, business man, a man of veracity, upon whose statement and judgment I confidently rely. He indicates the reason for these crimes and this impunity in a brief passage, as follows:

"It must be understood that four fifths of the white population are fanatically devoted to the cause of the rebellion, that the present so-called State government is composed entirely of men who have, in one form or another, proved their devotion to secession and rebellion, and in whose creed the cardinal plank is contempt for Yankees and 'niggers' and hate for the government of the United States. The 'Howard Amendment' stood, from the first, no chance of acceptance by a Legislature, most of the members of which were elected on their rebel war record, after much ranting declamation in which the candidates boasted of having carried the rebel flag in triumph from Big Bethel to Bentonville, vieing with each other in vaunting what they had done to destroy the national government and drench the country with blood.

"As a matter of form the courts are open; as a matter of fact there is no such thing as an impartial administration of justice by the courts between whites and blacks, rebels and Union men; the prejudice of the judges, justices, the lawyers, and of the juries in favor of the rebel white and against the Union men and the negroes forbid it."

Mr. Speaker, I cannot better illustrate the power and efficiency of civil authorities so eulogized by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Le Blond) than by asking the Clerk to read a short extract from the same letter of my correspondent. It relates to the Governor of one of the pretended States.

The Clerk read as follows:

"As a sample of the carelessness of Gov. Worth in his official statements I may mention the laws governing the apprenticing of children in North Carolina. In his message to the General Assembly at the commencement of the session (November 19, 1866), he admits that in the matter of apprenticing there is a distinction made by the law of the State between children of purely white parents and children having some faint trace of negro blood, for many who were two years ago slaves are as white as their former owners.

"One month later (the 19th December) he tells the President and Gen. Howard that the law of North Carolina makes no distinction on account of color or race in the apprenticing of children.

"And still another month later (the 29th of January, 1867), when the cry of parents whose children had been torn from them and bound to cruel and hard taskmasters became so loud that the authorities could not shut their ears, and when the children, thus ruthlessly thrust into a slavery worse than that of other years, starving, freezing, sickening, and dying under the cruel treatment of their chivalrous masters and high-born mistresses, at last escaping told their piteous stories to officers of the Freedmen's Bureau, then, and not until then, the General Assembly of North Carolina passed an act to amend the fifth chapter of the revised code, entitled 'apprentices,' which act purports to repeal all laws discriminating between whites and blacks in the appreticing of children; yet this same act in substance declares that the indentures of all children heretofore illegally apprenticed shall be declared legal and valid; and this when it must be well known to the members of the General Assembly of North Carolina that all the children illegally bound were the children of negro parents.

"Grant that the laws make no discrimination between whites and blacks, no one who is familiar with the action of the courts in the rebel States can for a moment suppose that there will not be, in the future as in the past, a discrimination made against the negroes.

"There is scarcely a single case of apprenticing of negro children in this State during the past eight months in which the State laws protecting the children have been respected by the courts.

"There are hundreds of cases which might be cited to prove all that I have asserted concerning the action of the courts in this matter of apprenticing negro children. I will mention one or two, which will serve as examples.

"Near Tarboro two children, girls, one eleven and the other thirteen years of age, were last Summer apprenticed to their former owner. The girls mother had formerly been whipped to death under the orders of the wife of the man to whom they are now apprenticed, then the master and owner of the murdered woman. Recent information shows that these children, who are still held as apprentices, are nearly starved and not half clad; the only garment they wore, while picking cotton in the inclement weather of December, was a straight gown, short in the skirt, and with short sleeves, with neither shoes, stockings, nor bonnets.

"The father and two brothers of these girls are laboring for a gentleman from the North who is engaged in planting, and together they earn about sixty dollars per month and their rations. The girls were apprenticed without the consent of their father, who has made repeated efforts to recover his daughters that he might send them to school, but thus far his efforts have been vain; and the girls are now held in a condition of slavery much worse than that in which they formerly lived. The younger of the two sons, now nearly eighteen years of age, and who has during the past year been earning twenty dollars per month and his rations, was last Fall apprenticed to the man to whom his sisters are apprenticed, who has sued his former employer for the wages of the boy for the past year."

Mr. Speaker, from the same source I draw one more illustration of the ridiculousness of the position assumed by those who claim that we are in a state of peace, and that the President of the United States ought not, therefore, to protect the Union men and other citizens by the military power of the government. My correspondent says:

"In 1865 a freedman named Lewis Warren was arrested in Sampson county, on a criminal charge, imprisoned, tried, and acquitted. He was confined in jail nearly five months. The charge of jail fees and the cost of the suit ($125) were charged to him after he had been proven innocent before the court and acquitted; and to pay these costs he was sold by the sheriff, upon the order of the court, for three years to one Simon Peter Hobbs, of Sampson county, for whom he labored laithfully for thirteen months and eighteen days. He then escaped, and is believed now to be concealed by certain well-known Union men in Johnson county, who, at their own peril, are preserving the liberty of a man whose innocence has been vindicated even before a rebel court."

THE CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY INTO THE NEW ORLEANS RIOT.

From the New York Commercial Advertiser.

The Committee appointed by Congress to investigate the facts concerning the New Orleans riots, have submitted a majority report signed by the Hon. J. D. Eliot and the Hon. G. Shellabarger.

The majority report is very voluminous, but it adds very little to our knowledge of the circumstances connected with the riots. One hundred and ninety-seven witnesses were examined, of whom one hundred and fifty-nine were examined in New Orleans. The cause of the riot was the reassembling of the Convention to form a State Constitution. This Convention met originally in April, 1864, under a military order issued by Gen. Banks. The Convention formed a State government, and adjourned subject to the call of the President "for any cause, or in case the Constitution should not be ratified." The President, Mr. Durell, declined to call the Convention, and a President *pro tem.* was appointed, Mr. Howell, who issued a call for a meeting of the delegates. Gov. Wells concurred in this call, and issued a proclamation for the election of delegates to fill vacancies, the election to take place on September 3. The plan was to hold the Convention in New Orleans, and, if a quorum of delegates appeared, it was proposed to suspend operations in the work of changing the Constitution until the vacancies should be filled. The majority report expresses the opinion that the meeting of the Convention was legal.

The riot occurred at and near the Hall of the Mechanics' Institute, on Dryades street, commencing on Canal at or near the corner of Burgundy street, between eleven and twelve o'clock on the morning of July 30. The majority report charges that "the riot was not an accident," and that it was "the determined purpose of the Mayor of New Orleans to break up the Convention by armed force."

The sickening details of the riot, as given at great length in the report, are already familiar to our readers. Union men, white and black, were ruthlessly shot down and knifed by the police and armed mob. In a few cases policemen saved life, instead of destroying it. Gov. Hahn, Mr. Fish, and a few others were saved by the police. But these acts were exceptional, and for several hours the mob and the police acted in concert in the hall of the Convention and in the streets, until nearly two hundred persons were killed and wounded.

The cause of the detention of the troops is attributed to the delay of the Mayor, who made no requisition on Gen. Baird until the riots were advanced, and who to the last seemed to regard municipal action as sufficient for the suppression of the riots. Attention is called to the fact that not a single person has suffered civil punishment for their participation in the riots, although an interval of six months has elapsed.

The majority report repudiates the opinion that the previous meetings of negroes and white persons, which are said to have excited public feeling and led to the riots, and regards the evidence to that effect advanced by certain citizens of New Orleans, as utterly unreliable.

A great deal of space is devoted to the consideration of President Johnson's statement at St. Louis, to the effect that the Radicals originated the riots, and documentary and other evidence is adduced exposing the falsity of the charge. The report states that the President knew the condition of affairs in New Orleans, and that the city was controlled by rebels. Mayor Munroe had been pardoned and qualified for the duties of his office by the President, although he must have known of his rebellious antecedents. The report says:

The effect of the action of the President was to encourage the heart, to strengthen the hand, and to hold up the arms of those men who intended to prevent the Convention from assembling.

In their disclosed intention to arrest, by police or Sheriff, the members of the Convention, they were assured of his support and aid, and it was believed, with good reason, that whatever steps the Mayor should take, in his office under color of law, to suppress the meeting of the Convention, would have the sanction of the President.

The Committee presents a painful account of the condition of affairs in New Orleans and Louisiana. The control of affairs is practically in the hands of men who were distinguished for their enmity to the Union during the rebellion. A bitter hostility is everywhere manifested against persons of Union antecedents, and some have sold their property and left the State on account of the hostile feelings entertained toward them by the community. The Committee, therefore, concludes that Congress should interfere, and extend safety to loyal men. The presence of the military in the State is the only guarantee enjoyed by loyal men against the violence and vengeance of unrepentant, although pardoned rebels.

The remedy for this condition of affairs is suggested to lie in the establishment of "a Provisional government" by the authority of Congress. In the meantime the State should be, as it virtually is, controlled by military authority. The Committee holds that the rebellious States forfeited their rights by rebellion, and that the war cannot be regarded as having terminated until loyal governments shall have been established.

ONE OF THE PRESIDENT'S PARDONS.

From the Detroit Post.

The recklessness with which President Johnson has exercised the pardoning power, has been nothing less than a crime, morally, if not legally. Counterfeiters, swindlers, robbers, rebels, guerillas, and murderers have been turned loose upon society by him in hundreds. One specimen has turned up in Tennessee, of an interesting variety. It seems that a bushwhacker named Hooks, during the late war, was the scourge of Obion county. His robberies, outrages, murders and rapes were notorious. About a year ago he was caught and tried by a military commission, upon the charges of murder, robbery and rape. He was convicted of murdering four Union men in cold blood, and sentenced to be hung. Gen. Stoneman, desirous of showing mercy and conciliating Obion county sentiment, commuted his sentence to imprisonment for life. This was the very least punishment the General thought ought to be inflicted, and a great stretch of magnanimity on his part. But President Johnson very shortly pardoned the scoundrel altogether, and turned him loose again.

No sooner did Hooks, thus pardoned by the President, reach his home in Obion county, than he began to flourish around, boasting of his pardon; and, gathering about him a portion of his old gang, he recommenced hunting down Union men. The Memphis *Post* publishes a letter from a Union man of Obion county, who is vouched for as one of the best citizens of that section of the State. It says of Hooks's doings, and others of his gang:

"You are apprised that *several of our best men have been brutally murdered. My life is threatened by a marauding squad that is roving through the country.* They are well provided for, equipped, mounted, and have so many friends that it would be impossible to find them. They can shoot down a Union man in the court-yard in time of court, and be in no danger.

"Yesterday three of my rebel friends met me at my house, to apprise me of my immediate danger. They told me that, in their opinion, the best thing for me to do was to take my family and go North, which was like a death-knell to me, for that mansion which I made with my own hands, and which you so much admired, is all I have in the world. I have not money enough to take me to Columbus; nevertheless, I must go, and have now started. The Lord only knows what will become of me and my wife and children.

"Certain 'secesh' friends, who are friends truly, told me that Hooks and about six others are in the county, and that they swear vengeance against me and other Union men. Last Saturday night a gang of them fired several shots in the vicinity of my house. Wednesday night six of them appeared at the residence of my sister-in-law—the widow of as good a Union man as I ever knew, and whom they persecuted by frequently putting ropes around his neck and swearing they would hang or shoot him, till he died from the effect of their abuse. They then came to my gate and hallooed for some time, but I kept my doors locked, and they, knowing that I was well armed, went away without attacking my house.

"I have not time to write longer. I am on my way North. Where I shall be able to get to I don't know; but it is the only alternative. I leave my all to the mercy of these demons."

NEGROCIDE.

From the Detroit Post.

The game laws of the Middle Ages were peculiar for the scale of value assigned to the life of human beings and that of birds and animals. Men were hung for shooting pigeons in France, and even the popular hero Henry IV. is said to have signed the sentence of death upon peasants guilty of having defended their fields against the devastation of wild boars. Mr. George P. Marsh, in his work on "Man and Nature," cites several instances of this contempt in which human beings were held. "The death of a hare was a hanging matter, the murder of a plover a capital crime. Wretches who had drawn a bow upon a stag were to be tied to the animal alive; and among the seigniors, or gentlemen, it was a standing excuse for having killed game on forbidden ground, that they aimed at a *serf.*" We have seen it stated somewhere that there is more significance in the statement quoted by Mr. Marsh than his inability to appreciate a pun would permit him to give it. The French words for serf and deer (*serf* and *cerf*) sound so much alike as to give rise to a somewhat ghastly joke, to the effect that the life of a serf was less valuable than the life of a deer—cervicide being more heinous than servicide. The double meaning thus places the two species of animals in a stronger contrast, as to the consideration in which they were respectively held.

This low valuation of human life is characteristic of barbarous and semi-civilized people. In the South, since the negro has ceased to be valuable to his owner as a slave, he has fallen into the scale almost below the brutes that perish. At Lexington, Virginia, one of the students at Gen. Lee's college shot a negro for interfering with the youthful academician's designs upon the person of a young colored girl whose right to her virtue no man is bound to respect. In the classic shades of Gen. Lee's academy such impertinence is deemed sufficient provocation for murder; and the young man was acquitted. A "nigger's" objection to sensual violence and licentious insult towards a woman puts a high-spirited Southerner on his self-defense and calls for such resentment that nothing but the blood of the intruder can, in all conscience, satisfy and assuage.

A white man in Kentucky first debauched then murdered his dark-skinned victim. It does not appear that he denied it. Indeed, there was no necessity of adopting so feeble a defence. He merely explained that he was afraid his mistress would inform his wife that he had become the father of a "light mixed" progeny, and trouble would ensue. This touched the feelings of the husband and the father, which had been implanted in the bosom of the magistrate, before whom the case was tried. He released the unfortunate gentleman who had been thus involved in the net of circumstances, and so approved of his method of extricating himself from delicate domestic difficulties. "Sin," says Dr. Holmes, "has many tools, but a lie is the handle that fits them all." They have improved on that in Kentucky jurisprudence, however. Murder is the most popular and convenient method of shielding the crimes and vices and derelictions of which white men may be guilty. When a man becomes wicked enough to commit the worst crime upon the most helpless of women, and mean enough to be afraid of the consequences of the wrong which he also commits against his wife, he can gratify his passions and his consequent cowardice by killing the first one. A statement of his case and an explanation to a sympathetic magistrate release him from all penalties, except the settlement still to be made in the bosom of his family. Debauchery may be alleviated by murder and murder excused by the embarrassment of the situation. The system forms a beautiful gradation of compensations, to which the sale of indulgences, once so popular in the Romish Church, never attained. In this manner intemperance might be counterbalanced by the expense necessary for getting drunk. Theft could be offset by the trouble attendant upon the blowing up of safes. Adultery should be condoned by reason of the violence it does to the marital affection of the guilty husband. A few words with the police officer or the judge would speedily and promptly bring the case to a satisfactory conclusion, and, in general, the subversion of the decalogue would be charitably overlooked, if it were clearly shown that a "nigger" got the worst of it, and had been summarily put out of the way.

A "SERIOUS DIFFICULTY."

From the Detroit Post.

According to one of the rebel-Democratic papers of Jackson, Mississippi, there has been a "serious difficulty" in that vicinity recently. Our cool and law-abiding citizens may not comprehend readily what constitutes a "serious difficulty" in the South, under one of President Johnson's "my policy" State governments. We know that many things are difficult in Mississippi. It is difficult to discover the loyalty of a Johnson Union man, for instance; or the honor of a chivalric reconstructed politician; or the honesty of the reconstructed Legislature; or the propriety of sustaining a government under which none but rebels are elected to office; or the justice of the proposed Mississippi law to levy a tax on all negro children, and then sell the children to collect the tax; or any good reason why Union soldiers are imprisoned on the charge of firing buildings during the war, under orders from their superior officers, in a State claiming to have accepted the results of the war, and to be as loyal *now* as any State in the Union. But these difficulties are not "serious." Under the head of "Serious Difficulty," the Mississippi paper relates that, a few days ago, one Daniel Grantham (doubtless a chivalric reconstructed gentleman), on being fined by the Mayor of the town of Varden, suddenly drew a revolver and commenced firing at the court. The first ball hit a constable in the eye, killing him instantly. The second ball hit the court, in the person of the Mayor, producing, we suppose, the "serious difficulty." Grantham then sloped, and it may be that the "serious difficulty" is where to find him and how to arrest him again. There certainly seems to be a "serious difficulty" in administering justice and preserving peace and order in a community where such characters as this chivalric Daniel Grantham are a regular production, and under a system of government which regards rebels, perjurers and robbers as the most eminently qualified to sit in high places; where love of country and love of liberty are regarded as dishonorable, and honest working-men considered no better than slaves. But there does not appear to be any great difficulty in committing murder, or in escaping from the penalty thereof.

ABUSE OF THE VETO POWER CAUSE OF IMPEACHMENT.

LETTER FROM "OCCASIONAL."

Washington, D. C., Feb. 13, 1867.

If any one truth has been vindicated a thousand times, it is that there is not a word in the debates in the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, and in those of the States which ratified it, or in the early Congress, that can be tortured in support of the scandalous usurpation of the present Accidental President. The fear of such a catastrophe in the person of any future Chief Magistrate, would have constrained the fathers of the Republic to strip the Executive of all power, and to leave him a mere effigy or pageant in office. It was *alone* upon the theory that no American citizen would ever be found base enough to degrade that high position, either by personal or political profligacy, that so much influence and such large discretion were conferred upon the President; and this hope was justified by the illustrious Christians and philanthropists whose virtues and wisdom shed enduring lustre upon the early civil struggles of the government, as they mingled with each other, and compared and weighed their high-souled motives. In all their honored ranks we look in vain and proudly for a single corrupt, or selfish, or unworthy example. A few days ago I showed, on the authority of James Madison, "the Father of the Constitution," what must be done in the event of a disreputable character seated in the Presidential chair abusing these large prerogatives for the gratification of his own passions. The remedy suggested was quick, brief, and stern, and the more so because the contingency of such a character only existed in the realm of impossibilities. James Madison was speaking almost in the sublime presence of George Washington; and while he and his compatriots naturally believed that posterity would not enjoy the blessing of many such illustrious benefactors, the station of President of the United States was so sacred, and so high in their eyes, that it seemed to have been instituted only for the most spotless and pure. The authority of James Madison has been vainly assailed by the copperheads and traitors, and it stands forth in the land as the sufficient warrant of Congress, and as the awful invitation to that grave legislature to proceed unpausingly in the fulfilment of its obligations. Now, let me direct public attention to the voice of another Virginia statesman, the famous John Randolph of Roanoke, who, as a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 5th of January, 1804, offered a resolution to appoint a committee to inquire into the official conduct of Samuel Chase, one of the associate judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. On the adoption of his resolution, he was appointed one of the committee "to go to the Senate at the bar thereof, and in the name of the people of the United States to impeach Samuel Chase, one of the associate judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, of high crimes and misdemeanors." On the 27th of February, 1804, John Randolph delivered a powerful speech in support of his motion, from which I take the following apposite extract:

"The President of the United States has a qualified negative on all bills passed by the two Houses of Congress, that he may arrest the passage of a law framed in a moment of legislative delirium. Let us suppose it exercised indiscriminately on every act presented for his acceptance. *This surely would be an abuse of his constitutional power, richly deserving of impeachment;* and yet no man will pretend to say it is an indictable offence. The President is authorized by the Constitution to return any bill presented for his approbation in not exceeding ten days, Sundays excepted, within which period he may return it to the House wherein it originated, stating his reasons for disapproving it. Now let us suppose that at a session like the present, which must necessarily terminate on the third day of March (and that day falls this year on a Sunday), the President should keep back until the last hour of an expiring Congress every bill offered to him for signature during the ten preceding days (and these are always the greater part of the laws passed at any session of the Legislature), and should then return them, stating his objections, whether good or bad is altogether immaterial. It is true that a vote of two-thirds of each branch may enact a law in despite of Executive opposition; but in the case I have stated, it would be physically impossible for Congress to exercise its constitutional power. Indeed, over the bills presented to the President within nine days preceding its dissolution, the Legislature may be deprived of even a shadow of control, since the Executive is not bound to make any return of them whatever. Now, I ask whether such misconduct in the President be an indictable offence? And yet is there a man who hears me who will deny that it would be a flagrant abuse, under pretence of exercise of his constitutional authority, for which he ought to be impeached, removed, and disqualified?"

The significance of this question at the present time will startle every reader. James Madison declared that such a President as Andrew Johnson could be impeached and removed, and during the trial could be superseded by a temporary appointment, simply for the abuse of the pardoning power; and John Randolph came forward on a most momentous and memorable occasion, and declared that such a President as Andrew Johnson should be "impeached, removed, and disqualified" for the abuse of the veto power. I could, if it were necessary, cite Andrew Johnson, a Senator in Congress, against James Buchanan, when the latter vetoed the Homestead bill; but I forbear in the presence of the overwhelming logic of the great Virginian, so applicable to the apostate in the White House and to the moments in which we live. Within nineteen days of the close of the XXXIXth Congress, and within seven days of the period when the Executive power of withholding bills for ten days begins, the words of John Randolph possess a tremendous value. They are at once instructions to Congress and admonitions to Andrew Johnson. If Madison covered the whole ground in one case, Randolph even more closely comprehends another national peril. Lest the traitor and Copperhead commentators may attempt to run their heads against another granite wall by attacking the veracity of the above extract, I beg to inform them that it is taken from page 274 of the third volume of the Abridgment of the Debates of Congress by Thomas H. Benton, who copies from Gales and Seaton's Annals of Congress, from the Register of Debates, and from the official Report of Debates by John C. Rives. Occasional.

THE RECONSTRUCTION BILL.

The following is a correct copy of the Reconstruction bill as it passed the Senate and House of Representatives:

Whereas, no legal State governments or adequate protection for life or property now exist in the rebel States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Texas and Arkansas; and

Whereas, It is necessary that peace and good order should be enforced in said States, and loyal and republican State governments be legally established; therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That said rebel States shall be divided into military districts, and made subject to the military authority of the United States, as hereinafter prescribed; and for that purpose Virginia shall constitute the First district; North Carolina and South Carolina the Second district; Georgia, Alabama, and Florida the Third district; Mississippi and Arkansas the Fourth district, and Louisiana and Texas the Fifth district.

Section 2. And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the President to assign to the command of each of said districts an officer of the army not below the rank of brigadier-general, and to detail a sufficient military force to enable such officer to perform his duties and enforce his authority within the district to which he is assigned.

Section 3. And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of each officer assigned as aforesaid to protect all persons in their rights of person and property; to suppress insurrection, disorder and violence, and to punish or cause to be punished all disturbers of the public peace and criminals; and to this end he may allow local civil tribunals to take jurisdiction of and to try offenders; or when, in his judgment, it may be necessary for the trial of offenders, he shall have power to organize military commissions or tribunals for that purpose, and all interference, under color of State authority, with the exercise of military authority under this act shall be null and void.

Section 4. And be it further enacted, That all persons put under military arrest by virtue of this act shall be tried without unnecessary delay, and no cruel or unusual punishment shall be inflicted; and no sentence of any military commission or tribunal hereby authorized, affecting the life or liberty of any person, shall be executed until it is approved by the officer in command of the district; and the laws and regulations for the government of the army shall not be affected by this act, except in so far as they conflict with its provisions: provided, that no sentence of death under the provisions of this act shall be carried into effect without the approval of the President of the United States.

Section 5. Be it further enacted, That when the people of any one of said rebel States shall have formed a constitutional government, in conformity with the Constitution of the United States in all respects, framed by a convention of delegates elected by the male citizens of said State, twenty-one years old and upwards, of whatever race, color, or previous condition, who have been residents in said State for one year previous to the day of such election, except such as may be disfranchised for participation in rebellion or for felony at common law, and when such Constitution shall provide that the elective franchise shall be enjoyed by all such persons as have the qualifications herein stated for election of delegates, and when such Constitution shall be adopted by a majority of the persons voting on the question of ratification who are qualified as electors for delegates, and when such Constitution shall have been submitted to Congress for examination and approval, and Congress shall have approved the same, and when said State, by a vote of its Legislature, elected under said Constitution, shall have adopted the amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed by the Thirty-ninth Congress, and known as Article 14; and when said article shall have become a part of the Constitution of the United States, said State shall be declared entitled to representation in Congress, and Senators and Representatives shall be admitted therefrom on their taking the oath prescribed by law, and thereafter the preceding sections of this act shall all be in operation in said State: Provided, That no person excluded from the privilege of holding office by the said proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States shall be eligible to election as a member of the convention to frame a Constitution for any said rebel States, nor shall any such person vote for a member of said convention.

Section 6. And be it further enacted, That until the people of said rebel States shall be by law admitted to representation in the Congress of the United States, any civil government which may exist therein shall be deemed provisional only, and in all respects subject to the paramount authority of the United States at any time to abolish, modify, control, or supersede the same, and in all elections to any office under such provisional government all persons shall be entitled to vote, and none other, who are entitled to vote under the provisions of the fifth section of this act, and no person shall be eligible to any office under such provisional government who would be disqualified from holding office under the provisions of the third article of said constitutional amendment.

CAPITAL AGAINST IMPEACHMENT.

From the Right Way.

Capital is the most sensitive thing in the world. When bold measures, however necessary or however just, are to be acted on in national affairs, it is the first to be alarmed. Anything which looks like disturbance of the currents of trade and finance, upsets its equanimity and sends it buzzing round like a singed fly, until it falls exhausted in the presence of events which it cannot control.

Accordingly, capitalists are at work now, causing petitions to be sent, begging members of Congress not to impeach the President. They allege that such an occurrence will unsettle the finances of the country, derange business, depreciate the value of our bonds in foreign markets, and play the deuse generally in the monetary skies.

This is bat-eyed shrewdness, which is a repetition of that of '60 and '61, when the South was taking the first steps toward seceding from the Union. They got badly frightened then, and laid themselves out to do their prettiest to hold on upon that section which gave them trade and business. To save the South for money-making purposes, not to establish the principle of the perpetuity of the Union, they became the willing dupes of the slaveholders, and performed their work by securing the enforcement of fugitive slave laws, mobbing Abolitionists, and breaking up their meetings in the name of law and order, and by indorsing William H. Seward's assertion in a speech in the Senate, that "John Brown was justly hung." Any one in our Northern cities, who talked abolition and enunciated the rights of freedom, or attempted to point out the treasonable designs of the South, did so at their peril. Not a book could be published or a pamphlet, relating to slavery, that did not start up a formidable persecution, fanned into fury

DEFECTIVE ORIGINAL COPY

by the mercantile classes. Garrison's *Liberator* was a special object of their venom. From December, 1860, to April, 1861, there was a terrible excitement. Bell-Everett clubs in Boston, sustained by Mayor Wightman, in command of the police, competed with the merchants, "a respectable mob in broadcloth," in breaking up meetings held in Tremont Temple, to celebrate the anniversary of the death of John Brown. Bullies and blackguards emerged from their dens, and rumshops vomited forth their loafers at the call of capitalists, uttered through the columns of a trade and slavery besotted press. Wendell Phillips could not walk the streets without fear of the assassination, which was tacitly encouraged by handbills posted in public streets, asking, "Fellow-citizens, will you allow this man, this incendiary, to speak in a public meeting?" And his deliberate murder was prevented only by a faithful body-guard of determined friends, who watched day and night to save him from the tender mercies of the howling mob, called into life by business men.

In New York city too, the mercantile classes were equally on the alert to save the South. They were the ones who loaded the Southern mails with assurances that Northern capital would prevent a rupture, and would oblige the North to submit to the demands of the South. So strong was the money power there, that Mayor Wood was encouraged to recommend to the city government, on January 6, '61, the secession of that municipality.

In Philadelphia, a conciliation meeting was held, presided over by Mayor Henry, December 10, '61, at which all the speakers portrayed the wrongs of the South, and advocated that the North implicitly yield to the South. Mayor Henry took the pains to caution his hearers to discard "all sordid and self-interested views," which was a virtual confession that trade and business were the motives that prompted the assemblage of the peace-mongers. Growing out of this meeting, was the suppression of an intended lecture by George W. Curtis, of New York, one of our most popular public speakers. Even a mild discourse by a man who knew how to speak without excitement, could not be allowed in the trade-debauched city of brotherly love, for fear of offending the South.

Greeley says, in his history:

"As trade fell off, and work in the cities and manufacturing villages was withered at the breath of the Southern sirocco, the heart of the North seemed to sink within her, and the charter elections at Boston, Lowell, Roxbury, Charlestown, Worcester, etc., in Massachusetts, and at Hudson, etc., in New York, which took place early in December, 1860, showed a striking and general reduction of Republican strength. What must and could be done to placate the deeply offended and almost hopelessly alienated South, was the current theme of conversation, and of newspaper discussion."

It was a mob of business men that persecuted the pioneers of the anti-slavery movement, and dragged Wm. Lloyd Garrison through our streets with a halter around his neck. In '76, business men tried to avert the storm of revolution, and kept up their intimacy to the last with British officials.

True, there were many merchants also who proved noble and honorable exceptions to these sweeping charges; but, compared with the whole class, they were a mere minority. As a body, capitalists are always a drag upon public sentiment, when institutions are to be remodelled. They dread any legislation that may interfere with money-making. What care they *how* cotton and sugar and rice were raised, so long as black sinews produced yellow gold? If they could have decided upon the demands of slavery, there would have been no war in '60, but there would have been slavery eternal and perpetual. The North would have been a mere province and dependency of the South, and Massachusetts a foot-ball of bowie-knife politicians; whose first legislation would have razed Bunker Hill Monument—a hateful memento of freedom's battles; and then, while Toombs called the roll of his slaves upon its ruins, there would have been enacted wholesale hangings of anti-slavery men and all others who should have resisted.

But the war came. Sumter's guns aroused them. They saw that the South was in earnest. They learned that there was something else besides boy's play ahead. They found confronting them a more stalwart enemy to fight than a small handfull of fanatic Abolitionists. They must decide, and that quickly. If the North should be defeated, they knew that their property would be confiscated, because found in the country of an enemy to the South. There was but one chance for their salvation. They sustained the North, and lent their money to the government. They knew they could not more than lose it if the nation should become bankrupt; and they had sense enough to understand, that, if they did not come to the rescue, they would lose both their money and their liberty. It paid for them to be patriotic, and thus they took advantage of the wild enthusiasm of the masses who enlisted to do the fighting, and staid in their bank-parlors figuring U. S. bonds at 7 3-10 per cent. They promised that *no* soldier after the war should be allowed to suffer; and now we find maimed patriots begging in steam-cars, and playing on hand-organs in our cities, to obtain the most meagre and scanty subsistence.

Granted, that these men, in many instances, were liberal, and nobly responded during the war to appeals made to relieve the wants of soldiers through the various commissions established. Many of them gave freely of their means to other benevolent enterprises. But these circumstances do not relieve them of the charge, that they exhibited profound stupidity before the war, in purchasing Southern friendships and trade at the expense of common honesty and patriotism.

As a class, what did capitalists and brokers do during the war? Did they not "jump" gold up repeatedly to the highest rates, the effect of which was to enhance prices, and bring starvation almost to thousands of the poor, before labor would adjust itself to the new conditions? Have they not formed gigantic "rings" which, all through the war, by the imitation of prices, caused great distress among all classes? The favorite trick was to withdraw money from the market, by borrowing all they could find; locking it up, calling in their outstanding loans, and while their safes were almost bursting with gold, and paper representing it, stand back with stolid face, and wait the crash. They knew that this course would ruin small traders; but what was that to them? Their business was to make money. To do this they must force holders of property to sell at panic prices. This point reached, then they would enter the market, and buy up for a rise. Not content with the small trades and property holders, they fastened their sodden eyes on the U. S. Treasury, and boldly defied government to lower the price of gold, and succeeded.

Now we wish to ask, where the strength of argument is, in the fact that capitalists are striving to prevent impeachment? These men look only at the present bearings of Congressional measures, and not at the real, permanent future prosperity of the country. The gold single dollar close to their eyes will not let them see the bright eagles of ten, sure to come from reconstruction founded on justice. They do not look far enough ahead. They are no statesmen. They are "penny wise and pound foolish," in statesmanship. Therefore we advise sensible men not to be frightened when they learn that the money kings are opposing the removal of the "1" king. Money has no soul; how then can its worshippers be expected to appreciate the conditions of true national prosperity? On national questions of abstract right, capital is a poor judge. In getting gain, it is an excellent help. Capital is a very good companion and adviser when a country is in a state of quiescence; but when revolutions are born and culminate in a day, as is the case in our present history, it should not have a feather's weight of influence, unless it upholds that which is just, necessary, expedient, and fruitful for the good of the nation. T.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AT THE SOUTH.—The spirit that prevails among the rebels in the Southern States is indicated by a letter in the Nashville *Banner* which the editor of that paper does not appear to disapprove, and from which we make this extract:

"Suppose, as the radicals threaten, that they put ten or a dozen of their leading political gamesters (and a part of them negro speakers) into a political campaign in our State this Summer; the Conservatives, on the principle of 'fighting the devil with fire,' will checkmate each one of their speakers with an opponent equally zealous, vindictive, and abusive as they dare to be. The result of these useless and uncalled-for harangues will be to engender bad feeling among our now quiet people, *and can lead to but one result. So sure as there is a God in Heaven, if the radicals inundate the State with Northern speakers this year, the Conservatives will do the same; and, just so sure as this is done, so surely and certainly will it* END IN BLOOD."

CONDITION OF THE NEGROES IN TEXAS.—The Freedmen's Bureau has received a letter from Grayson county, Texas, saying the government must do something to protect the negroes, two having been most brutally murdered within the last few days. Ruffians are continually maltreating the blacks. Within a circle of twenty miles a dozen have been assassinated.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 1867.

Wendell Phillips's

SPEECHES AND LECTURES, a handsomely-bound volume, 562 pages, with steel portrait, will be sent, post-paid, to any person renewing a subscription for the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD and sending the name of one new subscriber ($6), or for two new subscribers $3 a year.

A $100 U. S. Bond

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WENDELL PHILLIPS is Special Editorial Contributor.

Address AARON M. POWELL,

Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard,

39 Nassau street, New York.

RECONSTRUCTION.

CONGRESS has unexpectedly agreed upon and adopted a Reconstruction bill. It is the Sherman substitute for the Stevens Military bill, with some important additions. The bill, as amended, will be found in another column. As we write, a veto from the President is hourly expected. It is thought that the bill, if vetoed, will be promptly passed again by more than a two-thirds vote. Though improved, the bill is still fundamentally wrong, and we hope may not become a law. If adopted, it will settle nothing definitely. It extends an opportunity to the people of the rebellious districts to reorganize as loyal States, and opportunity they have all along had, but have chosen to misimprove. It is a matter that should not be left optional with them. To leave it as left by that bill, is to prolong misrule, discourage and dishearten the best friends of the Federal Government in the South, to embarrass the business interests of the whole country, and to trifle with the sufferings of the negro, and the white loyalists.

It is true, military control is provided for, but who is the Commander-in-chief? None other than Andrew Johnson! As well commission a lunatic to superintend a lunatic asylum, or a thief to govern a penitentiary! Military government for the South we believe indispensable in the present condition of affairs. But to create a military government, and then place it entirely in the hands of a vile, treacherous and tyrannical usurper for administration, is an act of folly which no language can fitly describe.

Looking to the future, a terrible risk is involved, to which Congress has no right, as it has no need, to subject the negro or the nation. Should the rebels, seeing their future opportunity, choose to permit reorganization under this bill, and gain readmission into the Union as States, there is nothing to prevent their immediately repealing whatever suffrage proviso they may, upon compulsion, have engrafted upon State Constitutions. Whether this bill shall become a law or otherwise, two things are imperative. The first is the IMPEACHMENT and DEPOSITION of Andrew Johnson. The second is an amendment of the Federal Constitution, guaranteeing suffrage to all loyal citizens, throughout the Union.

THE INTERNATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

THE following is a copy of the Circular issued by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, the SPANISH ABOLITIONIST SOCIETY, and the "COMITE FRANCAIS D'EMANCIPATION," inviting an International Anti-Slavery Conference, to be held in Paris the second or third week of June next:

ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

27 NEW BROAD STREET, E.C., LONDON, January, 1867.

The Committees of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and the Spanish Abolitionist Society (La Sociedad Abolicionista Español) have agreed to a suggestion made by the "Comité Français d'Emancipation," to hold in Paris, in the second or third week in June next, a Conference of friends of the Anti-Slavery cause.

It is proposed that this Conference should comprise representatives from Brazil, England and the English Colonies, France and the French Colonies, Holland and the Dutch Colonies, Hayti and St. Domingo, the African Republic of Liberia, Portugal, Spain and the Spanish Antilles, Venezuela, and the United States of America; and its immediate object is to take cognizance of the actual state of the Anti-Slavery question in these countries, and to consider what further means may be adopted to promote the abolition of the Slave-trade and Slavery where these evils still exist.

It is also hoped that representatives from Chili, Peru and Mexico, and Travellers and Missionaries from Africa may be present.

In directing your attention to the annexed outline of the Programme, the Sub-Committees appointed to arrange for the proposed Conference, would be glad to receive an intimation of your intention to be present, or to forward any written statement or documents relating to any of the subjects referred to, as it is considered of the utmost importance that many of those who have been identified with, or who are interested in the advancement of the Anti-Slavery cause, should on this occasion give their co-operation, either personally or by communication.

You are respectfully requested to send an answer as soon as possible, but not later than the 1st of April.*

On behalf of the Committees of these Societies, we have the honor to be, Dear Sir,

Yours, very truly,

WILLIAM ALLEN,
JOSEPH COOPER,
J. WILLIAM MASSIE, D.D., LL.D.,
HENRY STERRY,
Sub-Com. on behalf of the British and Foreign A. S. S.

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, Secretary.

JULIO L. DE VIZCARRONDO, Secretary of the Spanish Abolitionist Society.

EDOUARD LABOULAYE, Membre de l'Institut; Pres. Comité Français d'Emancipation.

AUGUSTIN COCHIN, Membre de l'Institut; Honorary Secretary.

OUTLINE OF PROGRAMME.

SECTION THE FIRST—The Slave Trade.

SECTION THE SECOND—Slavery.

SECTION THE THIRD—The Results of Emancipation.

I.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

The papers under this section will embrace statistics and particulars relating to the Trans-Atlantic African Slave-trade, to the internal Slave-trade in Africa, and the Coast-wise traffic in Brazil; also statistics concerning the Chinese and Indian Coolie traffic, and the French *engage* system.

II.

SLAVERY.

Under this section, the present position of the question will be discussed, with special relation to the emancipation of the slaves in Brazil, in the Portuguese transmarine possessions, and the Spanish Antilles.

III.

THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION.

Under this head, it is intended to present papers submitting the results of emancipation in the English, French and Dutch Colonies, and the latest information relating to the treatment, condition and prospects of the Freedmen in the United States of America.

MR. CHAMEROVZOW, Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, has issued the following letter, which accompanies the above Circular, designed to call attention to and awaken an interest in the proposed Conference, among the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause:

CIRCULAR LETTER.

27 NEW BROAD STREET, E.C., LONDON, January 17, 1867.

I BEG to call your attention to the accompanying Circular and outline of Programme relating to the Paris Anti-Slavery Confefence, and to request you to be so kind as to inform me whether you propose to attend it.

As there is every probability of a considerable influx of visitors, the Sub-Committee have communicated with Mr. Cook, the well-known excursion manager, who has undertaken to place himself at the disposal of those members of the Conference, who may desire him to secure for them suitable accommodation.

The Sub-Committee would respectfully request that all communications on the subjects which are to occupy the attention of the Conference—many of which will require translation—should be sent in to the Secretaries not later than the 15th of May.

Special delegates from local Anti-Slavery Societies, or from particular localities, will receive, on presentation of their credentials, a card of membership.

The Sub-Committee presume that many persons in the United States and other distant countries, are likely to visit Europe during the great Paris Exhibition. It is submitted that advantage might be taken of this circumstance to secure them as delegates, and it is hoped the friends of the cause will make an earnest effort to impart to the Conference the character of an international Anti-Slavery representative assembly.

I am, yours, very truly,

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, Secretary.

An International Anti-Slavery Conference, such as is contemplated, will at the present stage of the cause of emancipation, be timely and important. Where chattel slavery is still fully recognized and upheld, the influence of such a gathering, through the voice which will go out from it, will be most potential for good. Scarcely less valuable will it be, if comprehensive and thorough in its testimonies, as a help to equal enfranchisement for the victims of slavery where emancipation has been proclaimed, but where the spirit of slavery is still alive and active, in the proposition that it is not forcibly restrained, in murderous persecution and cruel oppression of its victims, as in our own country. The horrible Jamaica massacre, and the condition of affairs it has brought to light, after so long a period had elapsed following the nominal overthrow of slavery, without equal enfranchisement, and due guarantees of protection for the victim race, has demonstrated, if evidence was needed, that the abrogation of the property relation only, is but half the conflict, that much more is indispensable to the triumph of freedom in the true and noble sense. With us it is the common expression that slavery has been abolished by proclamation and the Constitutional Amendment. Yet the spirit of slavery is still everywhere terribly alive throughout the South, restrained only by military power, and but partially by that. In an eloquent speech, delivered recently in the House of Representatives, an extract of which we give elsewhere, Judge KELLEY presented and vouched for the following, which illustrates the present state of the negro in North Carolina and throughout the South:

"In 1865 a freedman named Lewis Warren was arrested in Sampson county, on a criminal charge, imprisoned, tried, and acquitted. He was confined in jail nearly five months. The charge of jail fees, and the cost of the suit ($125), were charged to him after he had been proven innocent before the court and acquitted; and to pay these costs he was sold by the sheriff, upon the order of the court, for three years to one Simon Peter Hobbs, of Sampson county, for whom he labored faithfully for thirteen months and eighteen days. He then escaped, and is believed now to be concealed by certain well-known Union men in Johnson county, who, at their own peril, are preserving the liberty of a man whose innocence has been vindicated even before a rebel court."

The above is but a single illustration of numerous slave sales which are transpiring in the former slave States under our amended Constitution, which permits slavery as a "punishment for crime." The whipping post, and the auction block are still in vogue. Murder and reckless cruelty has less restraint than when the selfish property interest was more of a protection to the negro. The telegraph announces from Washington to-day that, "The Freedmen's Bureau has received a letter from Grayson County, Texas, saying the government must do something to protect the negroes, two having been most brutally murdered within the last few days. Ruffians are continually maltreating the blacks. Within a circle of twenty miles a dozen have been assassinated." The numbers thus fiendishly sacrificed within the past year are estimated by thousands. Loyal whites are also fearfully maltreated, and driven to make common cause with the negro. This is helping rapidly to make it apparent to multitudes who would otherwise be indifferent, that there is no remedy short of suffrage for the negro and military rule for the insubordinate, infuriated slave master. Our national situation is extremely critical. With the present relation of parties, and the known character of our Supreme Court, any considerable unfavorable revolution in political opinion would reopen questions fondly supposed to have been settled, and confront us with most troublesome and perplexing problems.

We are glad this conference has been called, and hope it will be cordially responded to, and be made of a truly international character. With the marvellous improvements in communication all nations are, much more than formerly, as near neighbors, and all have a common interest in the complete and early triumph of universal freedom. We trust that the intelligent Anti-Slavery sentiment of the United States may, as it doubtless will, be fitly and ably represented.

OUR friend MARY GREW, in a letter just received, dated Germantown, Pa., Feb. 24, says:

"I regret the passage of the last Reconstruction bill by the House and Senate. If it should go into operation, and the Southern States be admitted before there is a provision in the Federal Constitution, securing suffrage to the colored men, that whole race, in the South, will be delivered over to the tender mercies of their late masters; for what is there to prevent them from altering their State Constitutions the next year after they are admitted to Congress and restored to State sovereignty? As to the colored man's right to vote being secured by the Constitutions of those rebel States a moment longer than they are in the grasp of the Federal power, it is an idle dream. It seems that Congress is energetically striving to do every thing for the colored man and for the nation excepting the two things which before all others it should do, viz.: impeach Andrew Johnson, and propose an Amendment to the Constitution which shall establish universal suffrage.

"Still, so much has been done—so much has been gained—that we may confidently hope for more.

"May the XLth Congress appreciate its glorious opportunities for action!"

THE following is the joint resolution on the suffrage question, which has passed the Kansas Legislature:

"Resolved, That the proposition to strike the word 'male' from Section 1 of Article V of the Constitution of the State is hereby submitted to the electors of the State for ratification or rejection, in compliance with Section 4 of Article XIV of the Constitution."

Having passed the ordeal of both branches of the Legislature, there is little doubt that the electors will ratify the proposition, and that Kansas will be the first Republican State to enfranchise all its citizens, irrespective of sex or complexion. We congratulate the friends of universal suffrage in that State, and elsewhere, upon this auspicious prospect. We trust no effort will be spared to secure the adoption of the proposition by a large and decisive majority. This action, by which the members of the Kansas Legislature have honored themselves, will be a valuable help to the same work in other States. We particularly commend it to the serious attention of our own Legislature at Albany, now dealing with this, among other problems, centingent upon a revision of the State Constitution.

THE first election under the new suffrage law in the District of Columbia, took place in Georgetown on the 25th inst. Nine hundred and seventy-one colored men were registered as voters. Great interest was felt in this election as an initial test, and a practical illustration of the working of negro suffrage. The wrath of the Conservative, "white man's" party was held in check by excellent police arrangements. The black men voted intelligently, and all passed off as well as though they had been of some other complexion. Thus will it be everywhere.

The following is the telegraphic announcement of the result of the election:

THE FIRST ELECTION UNDER THE NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN THE DISTRICT BILL.

WASHINGTON, February 25.

An election took place to-day in Georgetown for Mayor and Common Council. It was the first election in the District of Columbia at which the colored vote is counted.

The registry shows 971 negroes and 1,350 whites. A detail of 140 men for duty was made, including the police of the town and the mounted force, in order to preserve the peace. At 9 o'clock the polls were opened, and the rush of voters, without distinction of color, commenced. The votes of several colored men were rejected because they could not be identified, and a few on the ground of minority. This action of the Judges of Election delayed the colored voters somewhat, requiring them to make oath to their identity and age.

Great exertions were made by both parties to bring voters to the polls.

The restaurants and tippling houses were closed all day, and the Metropolitan Police were constantly patrolling the town.

Charles D. Welsh, Radical, is elected by a majority of 96 votes, over Henry Addison, the present Mayor, who was the Conservative or *White Man's* candidate; but the larger number of Councilmen on the Addison ticket are elected.

Gov. BROWNLOW of Tennessee, was renominated for Governor of that State on the 22d ult. He addressed the following letter to the Convention:

"I say to you, in all candor, that I have not sought nomination. My physical debility renders me wholly unable to speak in a canvass, and if on this account it should seem to you that my nomination would be doing injustice to the cause, I shall cheerfully acquiesce in your judgment.

"Nominally at the head of the Federal Government, the President has become a mere man of straw—inefficient, incompetent, negative, and besieged by men of the North and South, and advised and influenced by the the worst men in the country; without a majority in either House of Congress, with two-thirds against him in both Houses, so as to set at defiance his vetoes, without a single Northern Governor sustaining his insane policy, and without the endorsement of one loyal State. What a pitiable attitude for the Chief Magistrate of so great a Republic."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON lectured in the Brooklyn Fraternity Course, in the Academy of Music, on Tuesday evening last. His lecture embraced a review of our present national situation, and a very earnest demand for the immediate impeachment and removal of Andrew Johnson. We hope to publish the lecture next week.

HON. T. D. ELIOT will please accept our thanks for a copy of the Report of the New Orleans Congressional Committee of Investigation.

WE are indebted to Miss HOLLEY for the following extract of a letter from Miss EMILY HOWLAND. Miss Howland, for several years past, has devoted herself with remarkable heroism and self-sacrifice to the care and education of the freedmen. In a letter dated Sherwood's, Cayuga Co., N. Y., Feb. 8, she gives an account of a colony she has established in Virginia. She says:

"I have bought a tract of land in Northumberland Co., Va., at the mouth of the Potomac River, and have colonized there 'Uncle Moses' and two other families. I expect reinforcements during the present year, and hope yet to see a prosperous colony sitting under its own vine and fig-tree, with none to molest. It is my purpose that they ultimately become possessors of their homes; for the present they must be furnished with all appliances for agriculture. I received a letter from them yesterday; they were comfortable, and grateful that they had plenty of food and fuel, and were safe from the miseries which they had endured near Washington. I shall go to their Canaan in the Spring, and begin my reconstruction policy by ringing the school bell—strange sound in that region—the response of sable faces will be stranger still. One of the poor whites of the region told me I should find the colored children so stupid that I should have to drive them to school, and was quite confounded when I replied that they had been awaiting my coming eagerly for months.

"I was there in the early Summer and again just before my return home, to see to the welfare of the newly-arrived proteges.

"I shall have a log-house built soon after my return thither, and shall hope that many friends will pull the latch-string. I have already imagined you addressing my parish, in the school-house, which Uncle Aleck, the chief man, decided must be 'centrically' located. My intent is to kindle a fire that shall spread and illumine the dark places of that region for a long radius. You will find Heathville on the map, a poor little town, but large for that country; this will be my Post-office, about three miles from my habitat.

"My report of the past year can be summed up thus: Increased toil, some discouragements, many compensations, and soul-full satisfactions, and thankfulness that to me it was given to work in this inspiring, hopeful cause. My work does not require the heroism that yours does. My last station was upon the outer line of fortifications of the city of Washington, at Fort Morton. Greeley's History of the Rebellion has a diagram and the place marked. It is about two miles from the city."

A WASHINGTON special says:

"It is stated, on high authority, that Gen. L. C. Baker, the detective, in his testimony before the Judiciary Committee yesterday, in the impeachment matter, said he once had in his possession a letter written by Andrew Johnson, while Military Governor of Tennessee, to Jeff. Davis, offering to identify himself and Tennessee with the Southern Confederacy on certain terms; and, being doubtful of the genuineness of the signature to the letter, he showed the signature to the President's private secretary, who positively identified the handwriting."

CORRECTION.—The sum of three hundred dollars, which was credited to the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, in the list of contributions to the National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary, announced in THE STANDARD of last week, should have been credited to the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

PERSONAL.

Mr. J. C. Edwards, a negro, has been appointed postmaster at Farmington, Minn., owing to the carelessness of a clerk writing his name instead of J. C. Andrews, a warm friend of the President, for whom the appointment was intended.

Walt Whitman, who was dismissed from the Interior Department on account of the "immoral character" of his Leaves of Grass, is now a clerk in the Attorney-General's office, and is one of the promenaders on the Avenue each afternoon pointed out to visitors.

Theodore Tilton, on the morning after his lecture in Lansing, had an interview with the Legislature of Michigan, for the purpose of urging the members to throw open the doors of Michigan University to women as well as to men. There is some hope that this most famous of Western Universities will be reconstructed on a just and generous foundation of equal privileges to both sexes.

Rev. Olympia Brown and Miss Bessie Bisbie are to address an Equal Rights meeting at Rondout this (Wednesday) evening, and at Kingston to-morrow evening, the 28th. Parker Pillsbury, Charles Lenox Remond and Susan B. Anthony speak at Hudson, N. Y., this (Wednesday) afternoon and evening; at Rondout on the 28th, and at Kingston, Friday March 1st. Conventions of much interest were held at Troy on Tuesday and Wednesday, and at Newburg on Thursday and Friday of last week.

Wendell Phillips lectured in Chicago on the evening of the 21st ult. A telegram to the *Tribune* says: "The lecture of Mr. Wendell Phillips, under the auspices of the Young Men's Association, this evening, was an extraordinary success. The Opera House was literally packed from pit to dome with the very best of our citizens. The two hours' speech was an unimpassioned and candid discussion of general principles, to which the audience gave at every step the most cordial assent. The last 15 or 20 minutes were devoted to a terse and business-like analysis of the relations of the President to the National interests, and without any animadversions upon Mr. Johnson individually. It was only asserted that he was at least objectionably identified with the rebel interest, and his room was better than his company. At every allusion to impeachment the applause was wildly enthusiastic, and the temperate but decisive criticism of Gen. Grant's excessive neutrality was frankly accepted. On the whole, it is doubtful if an equally satisfactory political address has been made in this city since the war began."

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, February 24, 1867.

AMONG the associations that have been organized for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the freed people of the South, the "Friends Association of Philadelphia for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen" is worthy of special notice. It is an active and efficient body of men and women, earnestly devoted to its noble work, and presents a praiseworthy record of beneficent labor and important results. Diligence, energy and attention have characterized its progress in this great field of usefulness, and while its capacity has constantly increased, its sphere of action has continually enlarged. It is an encouraging instance of the good that may be accomplished by a few people properly organized and mutually active, proceeding with their self-imposed enterprise as though it were a stern duty demanded of them, and pursuing their labors with the zeal and faithfulness with which the spirit of benevolence inspires to acts of charity.

This association was organized in 1863. Prior to its existence, the "Women's Association of Philadelphia for the Relief of the Freedmen" had been formed, and was in active operation as early as 1861. The attention of the latter was chiefly directed to the work of providing clothing for destitute freedmen, and collecting funds to supply their immediate wants and alleviate their suffering condition. In the early months of the war, the sad plight of these people in some localities enlisted everywhere the deepest sympathy, and the service performed by this association of women shows how generous was their response. Various sewing circles were established in the city and its vicinity, and a multitude of hands plied the busy needle in prosecuting the philanthropic work. February 3d, 1864, the Association reported that they had received during that season from various sources five thousand one hundred dollars, and had forwarded thirteen boxes of clothing comprising over thirty-seven hundred garments. During the brief period from the beginning of that year five thousand one hundred and thirty-four garments had been cut out, furnishing sewing to seventeen circles, besides supplying the members of the Association. All this during the short period of twenty-nine working days! The garments thus furnished were distributed through the "Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association." In the month of February over four thousand dollars' worth of goods were purchased, thirty-five hundred garments cut out, and twenty-five circles furnished with sewing. Nine cases were packed and forwarded, containing nearly three thousand articles. The work thus continued month after month until October, 1865, when it was proposed to unite this with the "Friends Association for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen." The proposition was agreed to, and the organization thus formed adopted the title of the Friends Association.

The two bodies had hitherto, in many respects, been in practical co-operation, and the union thus effected was deemed essential for the promotion of greater efficiency of action. The Friends Association, composed almost exclusively of members of the Religious Society of Friends, had a somewhat more diversified task than the Women's organization. The latter presented a rare example of industry and hearty interest in its work. The other gave heed to the educational demands of the unfortunate people whose cause it had espoused; besides laboring to supply their physical needs, and in various ways assisting in measures for their relief, comfort and happiness. It likewise from time to time sought to have an end put to the spirit of cruel injustice that excludes negroes from our street cars—appealing to the companies through its committees to cease this iniquity. It has appropriated funds to aid the victims of this inhumanity in the judicial trial of their cases. It has also assisted in establishing a "Temporary Home" in this city, where such of the freed people as were sent North might be received and cared for till they could find employment. It has likewise made appropriations for the benefit of the Orphanage at Nashville.

At the time the two associations were merged into one, a new constitution was adopted, and the objects of the organization as therein declared, were, to "relieve the more pressing physical wants of the freedmen; to promote their moral and intellectual elevation; and to labor for the recognition of their just rights." Five standing committees were appointed, namely: a Collecting, a Purchasing, a Forwarding, a Clothing and an Education Committee. On the same occasion an appeal was ordered to be printed for circulation, wherein the call was made upon all interested in the cause of the Freedmen, to aid the work with fresh contributions. The duty of educating them was expressed, of establishing and maintaining schools among them, and instructing them in manual and domestic employments suited to their new condition. This appeal was urgent and emphatic, and was productive of good results.

The Association pursued its labors with renewed vigor. The several committees entered with reanimated fervor upon their respective duties, and a more general interest was awakened among the members of the Society. Each month's reports indicated a growing usefulness and larger results, in a sphere that became more and more extended. The volume of accomplished work grew larger, schools were constantly multiplying under the benevolent care, and new claims of duty met with fresh response. It was a great work, a good work, and is still progressing.

The report of the Forwarding Committee, for January 1st, this year, showing the distributions made during the fortnight previous, conveys a knowledge of the work being accomplished by the Association. It states that the following had been forwarded during that time, namely: ten boxes of garments; six of books, slates, etc.; one of blankets; one of trimmings for the sewing schools; two of sundry articles; seventeen barrels containing clothing, shoes, books, old and new garments; five bales of clothing; one of flannel; two packages of books, and one trunk of garments, trimmings and other needful articles. These were sent to various localities throughout the South.

The Association now has fifteen schools under its charge, and the sixteenth has recently been established. Ten of the fifteen are in Virginia, and the remainder in South Carolina. The aggregate number of pupils in attendance is about seven hundred, a little more than half being females. Five hundred and ninety-two are able to write, twenty-five more than the number that can read, which seems to be a curious fact. Only twenty-one of the whole number are in the alphabet, five hundred and two being under sixteen years of age. The teachers make frequent reports to the Association, which are read at its meetings, and these are held twice a month, in the Race street and Green street meeting-houses alternately. These reports exhibit the condition of the schools, the progress of the pupils, changes from time to time in the number attending, and other details of an interesting character. They are sometimes accompanied by specimens of penmanship and examples of composition from the scholars, with entertaining letters, giving the personal experience of the teachers connected with the prosecution of their labors. The salary paid to the teachers for the scholastic term of ten months, is twenty dollars per month and the cost of boarding. Constant communication is kept up between the schools and the Education Committee, and all the necessary wants are supplied as they are made known. So regular and uniform is the system of communication and report, that all the schools are conducted as if under the immediate care of the Association. A semi-paternal interest prevails in regard to them, and a constant watchfulness is manifested, with an obvious solicitude for their prosperity. This heedful regard extends to the personal welfare of their pupils, whose happiness and moral culture enlist a share of devoted attention. The deep concern of the Association in this respect is shown by an address issued on the first of January to the "Freed People under its care," indicating a heartfelt sympathy, and full of affectionate regard. To show its kindly spirit, I quote the first paragraph, which reads as follows: "In love we now address you; although we have never looked upon your faces, and may never meet you in this world, yet we believe you are not strangers to our interest in your welfare. We sorrowed with you under the grievous burden of slavery, and when the galling chain of the oppressor was broken, we rejoiced that the hour of your deliverance was at hand. We are with you in sympathy amid your many persecutions, and honor you 'that when reviled, you revile not again.' Your patience and meekness have taught us, and strengthened us. We trust that the dawn of freedom will be followed by a day of greater knowledge, liberty, and happiness than you have yet known." The address is imbued with a spirit of love and friendship throughout, giving wise yet simple counsel and tender admonition, with such precious words of advice as a father would bestow on his children in his anxious care for their well-being in the journey of life. W.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, February 24, 1867.

IN one of the "comic" papers (so called, although their jokes are for the most part rather dreary affairs) is a full-page caricature, bearing beneath it the inscription—"The next Presidential Candidates: Sambo and Bloomer." There's many a true word spoken in jest. These *are* the candidates, and they will remain such until a popular recognition of the justice of their claim, and a legal decision in favor of their rights as human beings, shall have been awarded. Women and negroes are to have the rights that American civilization and religion have thus far unrighteously withheld from them. We must not forget that the popular religion of this country, and the great majority of its religious teachers—the very religion, and the very teachers, represented by the "revivals" now said to be spreading throughout the country—have in years past set themselves as firmly against the doctrine of the genuine "Rights of Woman" as against the Anti-Slavery movement. They have never ceased to quote Scripture against the demand of Woman for justice, and in favor of confining her within what they were pleased to call "her peculiar sphere." Demanding that women should "keep silence in the church," they required them to submit also to be taxed and governed without representation in the State. And, strange to say, the two classes that most strongly opposed every attempt at explaining, or defending, or attaining the rights of negroes and women were, on one side, the clergy and the churches, and on the other, the most ignorant, vulgar and profligate of the people who made no claim to religious character.

The estimate set upon woman by the old laws, (that is to say the laws now in operation), and the limitation of some of the most precious rights of human beings under them, are well illustrated by a decision in the English Court of Chancery, in December, 1865, which is now (singularly enough) reported and censured in the *World*.

A clergyman of the Church of England died, leaving an infant son and daughter, and appointing his wife and a brother clergyman of the same church their joint guardians. This mother, after the death of her husband, had joined the dissenting sect known as the Plymouth Brethren, and took her children with her to their religious services. There was no evidence that the doctrines of this sect were objectionable in their religious or moral tendency, and nothing was alleged against the moral or religious character of the mother. On the other hand, it positively appeared that the father had not been among the stricter clergymen of the Church of England, that he lived on friendly terms with dissenters (especially the Plymouth Brethren, one of whose ministers he once introduced to his wife), that he gave no directions in his will as to the religious education of the children, and that he disapproved of parts of the liturgy and one of the doctrines of the Church of England. There was actually nothing from which his wishes in regard to the education of his children could be inferred, except the bare facts that he belonged to the Church of England, and that he had named a brother clergyman of that Church as joint guardian with the mother of the children.

The guardians having differed about the education of the children, an application was made by the male guardian to the Court of Chancery to decide the point. The claim of the mother to take her son to the place of worship which she preferred was backed by an affidavit of the son, a boy of thirteen, in which he strongly expressed his preference for the services of the Plymouth Brethren, and earnestly entreated that he might not be prevented from attending them. Nevertheless, the Vice-Chancellor, Sir J. Stuart, decided that the religious ideas in which the children were to be educated must be determined by the religious faith of the father; and he therefore ordered that, in this case, the mother be restrained from taking the children to the Chapels or meetings of the Plymouth Brethren, and that they be brought up in the communion, doctrines and worship of the Church of England, as by law established. This decree was affirmed by the Lords Justices on appeal.

Thus the English law decides that a mother of young children, the father being dead, will not be allowed to direct their religious education according to her own preferences, if the Court can lay hold of any fact from which to guess at the father's preferences, though he may have given no testamentary directions whatever. The *World* condemns this decision as an "unphilosophical rejection of the great social fact that a mother, all other things being equal, is the best fitted of either parent to guide and superintend the religious education of her children, even if both parents be living." In the progress of reform, it may be hoped, the *World* will come to see that these best educators of the rising generation have rights in regard to themselves, as well as in regard to their children.

Several of the hotel-keepers of Boston (some of them now under sentence of three months' confinement in the penitentiary for the illegal sale of liquors) have sent a petition to the Legislature, of which the following is the substance:

The petitioners represent that, being engaged in the business of hotel-keeping, they have made it their study to appreciate the wants of the public, the habits, customs and tastes needing to be consulted in order to maintain hotels of the very first class, according to the standard of hotel-keeping as it is understood in the great cities in all parts of our own country and in the other countries of the civilized world; that among the articles which the universal custom of mankind has deemed essential to be supplied to the guests of a hotel which seeks to maintain any character among travellers, are wines and spirituous liquors; that no hotel,

* Replies to be addressed as follows: Paris—M. Augustin Cochin, 25 Rue St. Guillaume, Faubourg St. Germain; Madrid—Senor J. L. de Vizcarrondo, Calle del Soldado, 4 Principal; London—L. A. Chamerovzow, 27 New Broad street, E.C.

DEFECTIVE ORIGINAL COPY

known as first-class, in any city on this continent or of Europe, can be named where these articles are not furnished to guests; and that the petitioners, professing to be loyal, law-abiding citizens, devoted to the government and to the good order of society, are profoundly convinced that an entire prohibition of wines and spirituous liquors to their guests would destroy the reputation of their houses, bring the city of Boston into discredit among travellers, both those for pleasure and for business, and so cause injury to the community, no less than to themselves. They therefore pray that such changes may be made in the laws regarding the sales of wines and spirituous liquors, as shall allow them to supply the wants of the guests of their houses, yet under such excise and regulation, and subject to such supervision, as shall be deemed needful for the public good.

This movement has probably been made under advice of counsel. It is certainly ingenious, and will seem forcible to people in the habit of drinking spirituous liquors, especially to those of them who consider their own gratification as of more importance than the welfare of the community. If this class shall prove sufficiently numerous in our Legislature to grant the prayer of these petitioners, I think the next Legislature may see a petition from the Managers of Theatres in Boston, to this effect:—that, whereas they have carefully studied the wants, customs and tastes of the male frequenters of theatres of the very first class; and whereas the prejudices of a portion of the community abolished, some years ago, in this city, the theatrical appurtenance called "the third row;" and whereas this appurtenance is so essential to the character of a first-class theatre that no theatre of this grade in New York or New Orleans or Baltimore, or in England, or on the continent of Europe, can be found without it; and whereas the absence of this arrangement will bring the city of Boston into discredit among travellers, and so cause injury to the community; and whereas they, the petitioners, are loyal, law-abiding citizens, devoted to the good order of society; therefore they humbly pray that such changes may be made in the laws concerning prostitutes "as shall allow them to supply the wants of the guests of their houses."

If there be any objection to the granting of these two petitions, the actual one and the supposed one, it is *merely* that vices and evils, most pernicious to society as well as to individuals, are thereby encouraged and manufactured; and what is that compared to the satisfaction we should have in supporting "first-class" hotels and theatres, *as these are understood* in "the other great cities of this continent, and in all the cities of Europe?" NORTH.

THE THREE OLIGARCHIES.

BY JAMES REDPATH.

NO. II.

MY first article has been so widely denounced, and its fundamental ideas so quickly endorsed by eminent authorities, that I am encouraged to believe that the day of the death of our three organized oligarchies is at hand. The New York *Times* has quoted it to describe "the progress of anarchy;" but Gen. Banks has sanctioned its account of the character and tendency of the regular army. He is unwilling, and justly unwilling, to trust to the army the government of the South. He declares that it would sympathize with the oligarchy rather than with the people of the revolted region. No man dares to deny it. Is *this* institution, then, a fit and proper appendage of a republican government?

It is alleged that the election of Supreme Judges by the people would degrade the Bench. I answer—Taney; I point to Chase. The only man whose election by the people would have been beyond dispute, is that illustrious judge whom we have trusted in almost every representative capacity, and who is as true to-day as when he was first chosen to an office in the gift of the popular electors. The best type of an appointed judge is the man whose name is honored in every slave-monger's court in the rebellious States. And it is *not* true that judges are now appointed without respect to party and politics. They are, and ever have been, the representatives of the dominant political party of the day. Let them be chosen for not more than ten years, and we would secure the representatives of modern ideas, rather than of the theories of the past generation. The people can be trusted—they, and they only.

Democracy is the rule of the people. It implies an absolute equality of rights. Any political institution that is founded on another basis—whatever its name, or place, or pretext—is an oligarchical organization. The House of Lords represents a class. It is an oligarchy. The House of Commons represents certain classes and interests. It is an oligarchy. Both are unfit to exist. There is no truly national democratic body among civilized peoples except the House of Representatives at Washington. Even it is not yet wholly a democratic body. The majority of the black citizens of the North are excluded from it. The representatives from Tennessee have no right there. They were chosen by neither the whites nor the blacks of that State; but by a portion of the people—a popular oligarchy. Women have no representation anywhere. For the moment, indeed, the House of Representatives is not even a national body. The South has no voice in its deliberations—neither the loyal nor the rebel South; for no late rebel would sanction its present course, and every negro recoils at its infamous proposition to put them in the power of their former masters. Judging from the tariff bills, indeed, we would think that a new Cotton Power has arisen: not the cotton-growing, but the cotton-spinning power—and one that is quite as selfish as its Southern predecessor.

But, if we assume that partisan necessity will enfranchise the negro in every State, and that women also will be invested with equal political rights, then we may hope to see a truly democratic representative body in our national House of Representatives.

How is it with the Senate of the United States?

It is an oligarchy by necessity. It should either be abolished or reorganized. It is the best vindication of the Southern idea. State rights, as distinguished from human rights, were recognized and adopted as a part of our Constitution when the Senate was formed. The democratic idea is, that each citizen is entitled to the same political power that is enjoyed by every other citizen. The practice has been, that a Southern man with five negroes was entitled to the same power as four Northern men. The Constitutional Amendment proposes to abolish this aristocratic provision. This section was one of the most popular features of the Amendment during the recent campaign. I heard Butler and Logan repeatedly explain it to vast audiences in the West, and it was always received with enthusiastic applause. Logan showed that, under the present apportionment, owing to the wonderful increase of the population of Illinois, one rebel in South Carolina would have four times the political power that the Illinois soldier who whipped him would have. Butler showed that the same South Carolinian would have two and a half times the power of the Northern soldier—including, in this lower estimate, the entire population of the loyal States.

But the Senate perpetuates greater inequalities than the unamended Constitution would confer on South Carolina.

Let us look at the case with the aid of the census.

In 1860, Rhode Island had a male population of 84,125, who were represented by two Senators. Ohio had a male population of 1,190,140, who were represented by two Senators. In other words, the Constitution of the United States, in establishing a Senate, declared that, in 1860, 1,000 men in Rhode Island should have the same power that 14,142 men should have in Ohio! The disparity will be greater as time goes on, because the people of the Western States will multiply much faster than those of the Eastern States.

Let us take another illustration.

In 1860, Florida had a male population of 41,582, who were represented by two Senators. New York had a male population of 1,933,457, who were represented by two Senators. Florida had far fewer schools, far fewer churches, far fewer newspapers, and far fewer citizens who could read and write, in proportion to her population, than New York; and yet, "the wisdom of the fathers" enacted that, in 1860, in the Senate of the United States—the so-called highest branch of the National Legislature—1,000 men of Florida should have the same political power which 46,497 New Yorkers should possess. To-day, if Florida were in the Union, if Lincoln's scheme had not miscarried, one Floridian would be equal to more than fifty New Yorkers!

Had not the President vetoed the Colorado bill, one squatter in that Territory would have been the political equal of a hundred Pennsylvanians.

Was there anything in the rotten borough system of England more unequal and unjust than this apportionment? Nothing. I predict that, as the rotten borough system of England disappeared before agitation, so will this rotten State system of America disappear.

What need is there for a Senate? I see none whatever. It is objected that France tried the system of a single chamber and failed. France tried liberty and failed. France tried a republic and failed. France tried a President and failed. France tried free speech and failed. France tried free press and failed. Shall *we*, therefore, give up liberty, and a republican form of government, and free speech, and free press, and universal suffrage?

What excuse is there for a Senate? "The preservation of State rights." But what rights have men of Rhode Island that need special protection against the men of Ohio? This word *State* has been a Pandora's box in our politics. It has no further business with us. The South inscribed it on its banner, and its flag was trampled out of sight. So should every effort to preserve it be trodden under foot.

If it be the wiser method to have two branches of a legislature, then let the upper branch be elected from larger, but ALWAYS EQUAL CONSTITUENCIES; for a longer period of time, but always by the vote of all the people.

But I have already exceeded my allotted space, and I prefer at present to sketch the outline of my thought rather than to enlarge on it.

Boston, February 12, 1867.

MILITARY GOVERNMENT.

To the Editor of the Standard:

THERE are objectionable features in the so-called "Military bill," recently passed by the House of Representatives.

The principal objections applying to this bill apply with equal force, and for similar reasons, to all plans of temporary government for the South, yet proposed. The vital defect of these schemes is, that the intentions of the law-making power may be entirely frustrated by an ill-disposed Executive, and that a formal compliance with the letter of the law, covering an entire disregard of its spirit, is the best performance that may be expected of the person now abusing the executive power.

The remedy which common-sense proscribes for paralysis of the national will is, of course, amputation of the paralyzing tumor. But if our national physicians omit to apply this remedy, the only alternative is, to work without the diseased member. If there is not courage enough in Congress to impeach and suspend the President, there may be still wisdom enough to refrain from adding to his power.

As long as Andrew Johnson yet remains unsuspended from exercising the Presidential functions, all enactments by Congress, for the reconstruction of the Southern territory, will be worse than fruitless,—will bear poisonous fruit,—unless the execution of those enactments be confided to a power independent of Andrew Johnson's will.

This may be done by Congressional resolution, appointing a Special Commission from among the members of Congress, and intrusting that Commission, first, with power to create the official machinery necessary for carrying out the Reconstruction laws; second, with exclusive control over such machinery. There are no serious obstacles to this method. The working parts of the various Executive Departments are mere figures on a chess-board, inspired and moved by the will of their irresponsible head, the President. Why cannot a similar array of chessmen, extemporized for the emergency, serve the purposes of Congress? What need of using the rotten President?

I know this question will suggest the broader one: What need of having a President at all? This, I propose not now to discuss. I content myself with pointing to the Swiss Republic, where the control of the executive machinery is in the hands of a committee chosen by and from among the legislative body, and where "*coups d'état*" are a derision and "executive usurpation" a nursery tale;—while my injunction to Congress is: Impeach, and suspend from office during trial, Andrew Johnson; but, if you *will* not, dare not, "can" not do this, do at least your work of reconstruction without him. Do not use the rotten President! G. M.

New York, February 18, 1867.

THE EQUAL RIGHTS ENTERPRISE.

To the Editor of the Standard:

LAST week we had excellent Conventions in Troy and Newburg. The Troy *Times* sent you, will speak for that city, and we were quite obliged to that journal for its liberality towards us in various ways. Indeed, no institution in the country is improving faster in its estimate of the value of progressive ideas than the Press. Nor is this remark much less true of one department of it than another. And when suffrage is at length extended to all classes of citizens equally throughout the country, everybody will wonder that so slight a change should have cost so much, and been so long delayed. And the time shall come when the world will wonder as much that suffrage was ever kept from woman—intelligent, virtuous, cultivated, competent in every way—on account of her sex merely, as it now wonders that she was ever hung or burned for the crime of witchcraft.

Of the enfranchisement of the colored *men* in Tennessee, a writer in the New York *Times* from that State says:

"The mountain counties, where the hatred of the blacks was most intense, initiated the revolution; and to-day, they are as extremely in favor of the blacks, as they were one year ago in their opposition. One year ago, the cry was, *damn the nigger! shoot the nigger!* To-day the cry is, we will vote with the nigger before we will with the rebel! * * Thus it is that this singular spectacle is now presented in Tennessee. The blacks are enfranchised, and no serious remonstrance is heard. Both parties hope to control the new element. Both accept the innovation without resistance."

Another correspondent of the *Times*, writing from New Orleans, says:

"Friends from different places tell me that many Southern planters now discuss the question of negro suffrage with much more candor than they did a year ago. It has ceased to be the bugbear it was. The people are becoming familiar with it, and when once it is adopted, it will lose all its terrors."

So it will be in every State, both as to colored suffrage and suffrage for woman. Human events are not always of the importance that we are inclined to suppose them. The journals of the British Parliament, from 1776 to 1783, refer occasionally to the war then raging in the American Colonies, but Britain never felt very seriously the loss of those colonies. The day before yesterday, we celebrated the birthday of George Washington, and on the day he died the nation seemed to mourn like a forlorn orphan. But it returned from his burial and swept on in business, in politics, in religion, unmindful both of his death and life. Jefferson too, and Jackson, Calhoun, Clay and Daniel Webster, were gigantic in their proportions while living, but now the world wags on as though they had never been.

More than once in the numbered centuries, a single hand has swayed the sceptre of the known world. But the hand and the dominion perished together, and oblivion covers them. Babylon and Egypt once thought their gates, palaces, and towers, eternal. But the sands of Eastern deserts kindly cover them evermore from human sight. Astronomers even tell us of a "Pleiad lost!" Distant stars, once known and counted in the celestial census, seem to have deserted their posts, and are seen no more. And yet the melody and march of the spheres seem undisturbed. This globe, in the created universe, is but one grain of sand.

In our own *immensity* of country, we have been often taught and most faithfully warned that the defeat and fall of the political party in power, would inevitably work our ruin. But, happily for the good of mankind, time proves these arrogant combinations mortal, and the nation, so far, survives them. So, too, the South survives slavery, once declared by a South Carolina Governor its "*chief corner-stone!*" The old Calhoun Democratic party is also numbered with the things before the flood, as the present ruling party will be soon; and the world will feel its loss as little. Instead of these will come new combinations, based on a broader justice and firmer foundations. Suffrage and citizenship will then know no race, no color, no sex. Taxation and representation will go together. The powers of the government will be derived from the consent of the governed, and *all* the governed; and so government will be by the people, and the *whole* people, for the people and the whole people. And when that change is all accomplished, it will seem so small, so simple, and so desirable and important, that everybody will wonder it was delayed so long. PARKER PILLSBURY.

New York, February 24, 1867.

LETTER FROM COL. CHARLES E. MOSS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 14, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

THE House of Representatives yesterday passed, by a vote of 109 to 55, a bill placing the lives, property and interests of one-third of the inhabitants of the American Republic in the power of Gen. Grant. And all that is done to remedy the incapacity and want of devotion to principle on the part of Congress, that Mr. Phillips very correctly denounced as a "Swindling" Congress. The idea that we have a National Legislature incapable of providing civil governments for those States, is not very flattering to the pride of the American people; but so it is. The great, boasting Republican party, after six years of vacillation and misrule, has at last declared, so far as language of legislation can declare, that the American people are incapable of self-government, and that Gen. Grant alone can save the nation. For, say what we may, if no civil government can be devised for the States recently in rebellion, the same will be claimed to hold good throughout the North in less than three years.

I am aware that members of Congress claim the measure is only temporary, and soon to be followed by other measures of a civil character. Some even tell us, in order to quiet our fears, that the President will soon be impeached; and it is necessary to hold down the people of the South until that measure can be made successful. But all such talk is idle nonsense. You can much more easily call into life a military government than you can crush it out afterwards. There is no example in history of a military despot yielding up power quietly after once getting it into his hands, and there is certainly nothing in the history of Ulysses S. Grant calculated to make freedom-loving men believe he will prove better in that respect than other despots who have ruined republics before him. Besides all that, Gen. Grant is ambitious of being made President in 1868, and the clothing him with power of life and death over twelve million persons is an experiment none but madmen or traitors to Democratic institutions would make.

Again, in the discussion of the provisions of that bill, it was distinctly asserted on the floor of the House that Gen. Grant alone is "capable of saving the Republic." With such declarations made by members who vote that power into his hands, can any one doubt that he will, in 1868, complete the work, by taking into his hands the whole powers of the government and assume rule over the remaining two-thirds of the nation? In truth, I have very little doubt but that result is desired by the principal originators and supporters of that measure.

But suppose the measure is only temporary—military rule is no fit school to train up people for self-government. It is a good measure to mould and fashion the subjection of the people to "the length of the foot that is to tread on their necks." The experience of the past six years in Missouri shows that military rule, modified by permanent civil government, greatly demoralized the spirit of self-reliance and independent personal effort necessary to preserve free institutions. So accustomed had the people become to run to an epauletted official for redress of wrongs, instead of protecting themselves and depending upon their own courage for preserving the peace, that for more than a year after the surrender six armed vagabonds would frighten one hundred men out of their wits. I have myself known instances of persons travelling fifty miles to get the Governor to send troops to protect three or four hundred voters against the depredations of some dozen or fourteen thieving wretches that ought to have been arrested or exterminated in half an hour after their appearance in the neighborhood. It took months to make the people understand that, in a republican government, the masses of the people must sustain with their own right arms the civil authorities in protecting life and property against violence from thieves and murderers. With such results in Missouri, what must we expect in a more perfect rule in the South?

Republicanism can only be maintained where the people are self-reliant, and do their own voting and their own thinking. That has not yet been the condition of the non-represented States, and as soon as an opportunity seemingly offers for reconstructing their governments upon that basis, a Congress, with a majority of two-thirds, composed of men claiming to favor freedom, votes to clothe an officer of the Regular Army with power to deal with the people as he pleases. We all know liberty of the press will be only liberty to whitewash the enormities of military rule under the provisions of such a government. No military officer ever yet tolerated opposition to his will while in his power to prevent it. If the measure passed by the House of Representatives yesterday is passed into law, no man will be safe in uttering his convictions in those States.

Beside all the enormities of the measure, it is an insult to the loyal men of the recently-rebellious States. It says, in effect, that no loyal man can be found in all that region of country capable of discharging the duties of civil office. We all know that is not true. Such men as T. J. Durant, of New Orleans; A. J. Hamilton and Gov. Pease, of Texas; A. Griffin, of Alabama, and one hundred others I could name, are as fit to be governors and members of Congress as any man in the XXXIXth Congress. In truth, had these men been members of that body, much of its folly would have been prevented and much of its insanity and imbecility would have been kept from public exhibition.

It is to be hoped that the Senate will defeat the Military bill, and pass the Louisiana bill. The Louisiana bill meets the approval of Southern loyal men, and the Military bill receives their bitter denunciation. Gov. Hamilton made the most eloquent speech against it on Saturday evening last I ever hear him make. It was an effort that would have been creditable to any first-class statesman in the better days of our Republic.

C. E. MOSS.

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON.

BY WILLIAM WELLS BROWN.

WASHINGTON, February 18, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

THIS, my first visit to the capital of my country, is far more pleasant than it would have been seven years ago, when the "negro pen" and slave auction disgraced the national domain, and when slaveholders ruled in the Capitol.

Washington is really free. The atmosphere seems more like Massachusetts, than any place out of New England. Street cars, omnibuses, carriages and everything of the kind are open to the colored man. How unlike Philadelphia! I was in the two Houses of Congress to-day, and found no distinction in the visitors' galleries on account of color. The condition of the freedmen is very much better than I expected to have found. Many of them have become residents of the District, and are doing well. I spent an hour in the Freedmen's Bank, of which our old friend Prof. William J. Wilson is the cashier, and was gratified to see in that short time, five freedmen make their deposits, in all amounting to $70 00. One of these, I was informed, had laid up $3,000 since he was emancipated by the proclamation. Yet, there is much want among the women and children, many of whom were left widows and orphans by the loss of dear ones in the late war. I met Miss Julia A. Wilber, of Rochester, N. Y., long a tried friend of the race. She was as usual, in her work of helping the needy, dealing out clothing, and otherwise assisting the freedmen, as far as her limited means will permit. I am sure that if the people at a distance knew how much their cast-off garments would be prized by the poor unclad colored people, they would not hesitate to forward many articles now hanging in their closets. I am confident that everything forwarded to Miss Wilber, will be faithfully and judiciously applied. The schools here are doing a great work for the elevation of the freedmen; and the children, with their books and slates, going to and from school, compare favorably with their former condition. I find more wealth, and a greater amount of education and refinement among the old residents than I expected. I have reference now to the colored people who were free before the rebellion. The accumulation of property, the spread of education, and the high moral and religious tone among these people, considering the oppressive laws under which they lived, tells well for the negro race. Stores, shops of all kinds, coal yards, restaurants and all the mechanical branches are filled by colored women and men. The advanced condition of the colored people here, no doubt, has done much to quicken the pulse of Congress on the rights of that class of people in the District. The upper-ten-dom of the colored population here are much excited over the fact that Mr. A. W. Wingfield, a colored man, who keeps the Senate Restaurant, in the Capitol, where Senators and strangers, visiting that branch, get their refreshments, refused to accomodate John M. Langston, the well-known Ohio lawyer, on account of his color. Mr. Langston, a few days before, had been admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court, and was moving about the Capitol with members of Congress, when this *flunkey* insulted him and disgraced himself. Such acts on the part of colored men towards their own race, cannot be too severely condemned. The people here are united in their disapproval of the deed. Mr. Solomon Johnson, a native of the State of Ohio, and barber to the late President Lincoln, was last week appointed to a first-class clerkship in the Treasury Department. Mr. Johnson has a brown skin and there is no mistaking him for a white man. Visitors to the Capitol have their attention called just now, to the new painting by Mr. Thomas Noble, representing a slave market at New Orleans. The picture was placed in the rotunda last week. It is admired as a work of art, and the seventy or eighty figures are well disposed. The architecture, the light and shadow, the costumes, drawing, the grouping, are all artistically managed and powerfully portrayed. Both the purchasers and sellers of the slaves appear to be deeply interested in what is transpiring. Among the spectators drawn together out of curiosity, is an image vender, with a number of figures on his stand, one of which represents the crucifixion. The auction block is in front of the Court House, with liberty on one side and justice on the other. Mr. Noble has produced a painting well worthy of study and preservation.

I attended a meeting of the Freedmen's Relief Association, of which Mrs. Keckley is the mainspring, and can say that it has been a blessing to the poor freedmen in the District: indeed it is one of the best movements of the kind in the vicinity. They deserve more assistance from abroad than they receive. This association is made up wholly of colored ladies and gentlemen, who feel deeply for their race, and will make the best possible disposition of anything entrusted to them.

The vote of Maj.-Gen. N. P. Banks, on the passage of Stevens's bill, in the House of Representatives, creates some talk here, but will not surprise any one who has been on his track for the past seven or eight years. When he vetoed the bill, passed by the Massachusetts Legislature, striking the word "white" from the statutes of the State, I lost all confidence in the man. Jack Rogers, Rousseau and other Copperheads, congratulated him after his vote against the Radicals the other night. On Friday evening last, as we were going to the Capitol to attend a night session of the Senate, when it was expected that that body would vote on Stevens's bill, Gen. Banks was in the same car, and I heard him say, in conversation with a gentleman, "If the Senate passes that bill, the niggers will rule the country." How much it sounded like a Copperhead!

Mr. J. Madison Bell, the colored poet, lately from California, is giving readings here, and is attracting considerable attention. I listened with pleasure to him one evening. He reads nothing but his own productions, which gives a freshness to his entertainments, not often met with in others. I consider him a splendid reader, and feel sure that he will make his mark.

The Senate sat in session until 4 o'clock on Sunday morning — the Democrats speaking against time to prevent a vote. I listened three hours to Saulsbury, who happened to be sober. He sent his name to Senator Wilson, with a request to become a member of the Congressional Temperance Society. Senators and Representatives feel confident that liberty will triumph.

THE HOPES OF THE FREEDMEN.

BY JOHN T. SARGENT.

"They bide their time."

WITH upturned faces, clasping hands in prayer,
Kneeling in tears around the bleeding tomb
Of him who bade them, 'mid their sore despair,
"BE FREE;" still patient, whatsoe'er their doom,
They bide their time! They bide their halting time!

With broken chains still dangling from their arms,
All hopeful, trusting, 'mid uncertain light,
Watching the struggle of this day's alarms,
(The tyrant's greed against eternal right),
They bide their time! Ah, yes; they bide their time!

Oh, where's the *Liberty* they hoped to find?
'Tis but a *shadow* yet!—a *ghost* they *fear!*
A fleeting phantom, toward which, almost blind,
They grope their way, alas! through darkness drear;
But, yet, they bide their time! They bide their time!

Outlawed, disfranchised, socially disowned;
Denied their rights, and almost re-enslaved—
Oh, *when* shall all their sufferings be atoned,
And they enjoy the boon for which they braved
Our battle-fields? Ah, well; they bide their time!

Covered with wounds, from many a bloody fray,
Whose shocks are still within their quivering flesh,
Stricken with wrongs, assaulted every day
By insults which have oped those wounds afresh,
They bide their time? They bide the hoped-for time!

Oh patient ones! Oh, meek, long-suffering race!
Bent and o'erborne by centuries of wrong!
Be faithful still, and God shall give you grace
To see *His kingdom coming!* So, *Be strong*,
And bide HIS time! *In hope abide His time!*

THE IMPEACHMENT.

THOSE who think the question of impeachment has been given up, and will die in Committee, are greatly mistaken, and will be startled one of these days when the Committee reports. It is well known that a very large number of persons from all parts of the country have been supœnaed to appear before the Judiciary Committee to give evidence in matters which it is thought will help impeachment. There are persons here now awaiting a call from the Committee to testify as to the restoration of government plantations in the Southern States. These plantations were seized by our government as abandoned property at the time the United States troops occupied the country in which they were situated, and were leased out to persons by the government. It is charged that President Johnson restored to the original owners, who were pardoned rebels, a number of these plantations, at a time when the crops of the lessees were under cultivation, thus ignoring contracts which the government had pledged, and producing great losses to Union men who were working them. It is said Gen. Fullerton, who is now here, is to appear before the Committee in regard to this matter. He was in command of the Freedmen's Bureau in Louisiana, and carried out the orders of the President in returning these lands to rebels. Mr. Conway of New York, predecessor of Fullerton as agent of the Freedmen's Bureau in Louisiana, is also in this city, and appeared before the Judiciary Committee to-day. Secretary Stanton was also before the same Committee to-day.—*Trib. Cor., Feb. 2.*

RELEASING MURDERERS.

The Special Committee to investigate the murder of the three Union soldiers at Brown's Ferry, near Savannah, Ga., in the Fall of 1865, while guarding government cotton, of which Mr. Pike of Maine is chairman, has finished its investigation. It will be remembered that four citizens of Georgia were charged with the murder, tried by a military commission, and sentenced to be hanged. The sentence was afterward commuted to imprisonment for life by the President, and they were sent to the Dry Tortugas. Soon after arriving there, they were sent to Fort Delaware, and, on arrival there, were released on a writ of *habeas corpus*, and are now at large. Gens. Thomas, Sheridan, Sickles, Wood, Baird, and Schofield were all examined by the Committee, and gave evidence as to the condition of affairs in the Southern States. The prisoners were released at the instance of Secretary Browning, who received $1,000 for his influence with the President. A petition was sent to the President calling for the release of the prisoners on his "avowed policy." Among the names signed to it were A. H. Stevens, Herschel V. Johnson, and Gov. Orr. The report of the Committee finds the prisoners guilty of the murder, and recommends such action in relation to the Southern States as will prevent a similar occurrence hereafter.—*Tribune.*

ANOTHER "SECESSION FIRE."

The large two-story building, used by our colored members, at Columbus, Miss., for a church and school-house, was burned on Sunday morning, the 27th ult. Abundant evidence is at hand showing that the fire was the work of incendiaries. Turpentine had been plentifully poured over portions of the structure before it was fired, in order that the rapidity of the flames might prevent the rescue of the building. Joseph Mitchell, the colored sexton, was sleeping in one of the upper rooms, and perished in the flames! The blood cries aloud for vengeance. O Lord, how long!—*Methodist Advocate.*

MCCRACKENISM.—Mr. Seward, or somebody writing over his name, it seems, addressed catechizing letters to all our foreign Ministers who were vilified by McCracken. The replies were all satisfactory to the Department without being abject, but with one or two exceptions lack the sturdy dignity of unconscious contempt which added so much to the admiration of self-respecting Americans for Mr. Motley.

Mr. Murphy, at the Hague, had expressed no opinions whatever, except with regard to the proposition for impeachment, which he looked upon as an electioneering measure.

Mr. McNeath, at Morocco, was in favor of the Johnson policy, and challenged everybody to show when he had uttered a word or sentiment of opposition of any kind to the man or policy.

Mr. Sanford, of Brussels, had approved the messages and the policy, and supposed that everybody else—at least everybody abroad—did also.

Mr. Morris, at Constantinople, had employed no malignant terms in reference to the action and policy of the Chief Magistrate of the republic, of which he was a diplomatic representative, but approved the President's policy of admitting loyal representatives to Congress.

Mr. Perry, at Tunis, was not conscious of having spoken offensively of the President or any member of the Cabinet, and considered it enough for him to declare his loyalty to the government as a subordinate officer under the President.

Mr. Hale, of Alexandria, pronounced the McCrackenism false and malignant, and challenged investigation of the assertion that his conduct had been carefully regulated by the feeling that he was the representative of the government of the United States, and not a partisan.

This is the end of a very small business.—*Brooklyn Union.*

LITERARY.

Bayard Taylor's Summer trip to Colorado is an instructive and interesting volume of letters, originally contributed to the New York *Tribune*. It is a statement of facts and description of places in simple language. This is the first work issued by G. P. Putnam (of 661 Broadway), since he has resumed his old vocation of publisher, after being removed from the Internal Revenue Department because of his Radical opposition to "My Policy." Bayard Taylor thus describes the barbarous state of Southern poor whites:

"During the afternoon we met a great many emigrant wagons, carrying 'poor whites' from Missouri, Kentucky, and perhaps Tennessee, to lands of better promise. The lank, brown men stared at us from under their wild, bushy hair, with an expression of ignorant wonder; the mothers, with their 4 to 6 small, tow-headed children (usually, one at the breast), sat uncomfortably upon piles of antediluvian furniture, and patiently endured heat, flies, and dust. All of these people were but one degree removed from pure barbarism, and their loyalty must have had its root in instinct rather than intelligence."

The London *Athenæum* has this paragraph: "Students of Chaucer and Shakspeare must be on the lookout for Mr. Alexander J. Ellis' paper on the pronunciation of English in the times of those poets. It was a real treat to hear the hero of phonetics read the passages he did, and as he did, and assert his hearers that he had authority for the sound he gave to nearly every word. It required some attention to convince us that we were hearing English, the French pronunciation in many words being so marked; but any one who heard, and who will read, the steps of Mr. Ellis' investigation into all our old writers on the subject—Salesbury, Palsgrave, Gill, etc.,—will, we think, come to the conclusion that Mr. Ellis is right. The final *e* of Chaucer's lines he always sounded; and that, we believe, is the practice of Dr. Guest and Prof. Child, though hitherto it has been strongly protested against by other early English scholars."

The Boston correspondent of the Springfield *Republican* says; "Speaking of 'seasoning' literary works, it is said that Jean Ingelow puts her compositions on a year's probation in the seclusion of her desk before submitting them to the public. Dickens is reported to be an object of inveterate hatred on the part of printers, for his copy virtually has to be 'set' twice, his first 'proofs' coming back regular palimpsests covered with corrections and additions. As a neat termination to this somewhat 'personal' topic, let me mention that Mrs. Louise Chandler Moulton is a toast in composing-rooms for the dainty elegance and legibility of her MSS."

A SOUTHERN HISTORY.—An enterprising woman, by the name of Spencer, has written a history of the "last ninety days of the war in North Carolina." The character of the work may be inferred from the closing paragraph of a notice of it by the Charleston *Courier*:

"It should be in the library of every one who desires to preserve the evidence of an age of barbarism and the commission of crimes by invasion from which Gaul and Goth, and Alan and Suevi, and Hun and Turk, in the worst period of the dark ages, would have shrunk with horror—the crimes of a people who have long survived the sense of *shame*, and who, in the sudden conviction of an overbloated power, have survived the sense of *fear* also; who, repudiating God, feel themselves capable of undertaking the tuition of the Devil."

Rev. Dr. Robert Lowell, brother of J. Russell Lowell, and author of "The New Priest," and a contributor, both in prose and verse, to the *Atlantic Monthly*, has been elected to the professorship of English Literature in Racine College in Wisconsin.

Mr. Bonner informs the public that the title of Mr. Beecher's *Ledger* story is not, as has been announced, "The Call of the Clergyman." Mr. Beecher has written more than half of the story, but he has not yet fixed upon a title.

RECEIVED.

TENT ON THE BEACH, by John G. Whittier. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

OUR MUTUAL FRIEND, by Charles Dickens, "Diamond edition." Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

The London Quarterly for January; American reprint. Leonard Scott Publishing Co., New York.

The Friend for March. The Friend Association, 131 William st, New York.

The American Phrenological Journal for March. New York: Fowler & Wells.

The Herald of Health for March. Miller, Wood & Co., Laight st., New York.

Demorest's Monthly and *Mirror of Fashion's* for March. New York: W. J. Demorest.

Every Saturday. Boston: Ticknor and Fields.

The Atlantic for March. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Littell's Living Age, edited by E. Littell. Boston: Littell, Son & Co.

OBITUARY.

DIED, At the residence of his father, Kensington Park, London, on the 9th of February, George Herbert Thompson, son of George Thompson, the English Abolitionist, at present in this country. The deceased was born in Roxbury, Mass., on the 6th of December, 1834, during Mr. Thompson's first visit to the United States. During the war of the rebellion, Mr. Thompson, Jr., who was an accomplished public speaker, delivered many addresses in favor of Union and Emancipation.

Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

Donations received by the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society since its Annual Meeting.

Joseph Fussell	$5 00
Levi Cromwell	5 00
Lydia White	10 00
James Hooven	20 00
Laura M. Towne	5 00
William Heacock	3 00
Rachel W. Moore	25 00
David Petit	2 00
Deborah Smith	3 00
Joseph Mendenhall	17 00
Seth Ely	3 00
John Child	5 00
George Dodd	50 00
Louis Wagner	5 00
Philadelphia Female A. S. S.	100 00
	$258 00

MARY GREW, Treasurer.

WHAT IS A SEWING MACHINE?

IT is a machine for making clothing and doing sewing of all kinds.

Does it make the same kind of stitch that a lady makes with her needle?

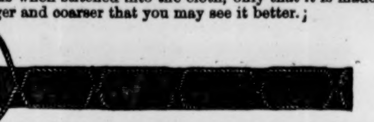
No, it makes other kinds.

What are they called?

"Lock Stitch," "Chain Stitch," and "Double Chain Stitch."

What is the difference?

Here is a picture of the Lock Stitch, as the thread looks when stitched into the cloth, only that it is made larger and coarser that you may see it better.



No. 1.—LOCK STITCH.

It is made with two threads, one on each side of the cloth, and "locked" together in the centre. Hence it is called the "Lock Stitch." It cannot be pulled out, nor ravelled, and there is only a single line of thread on each side of the seam.

Is the seam strong and firm?

Yes; just as firm as the cloth when properly made. It is the principal stitch made by sewing machines since their first invention.

How much thread does it take for a yard of seam?

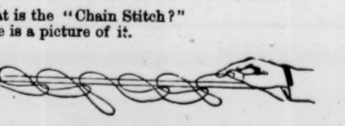
About two yards and one-half.

What is the principal machine that makes the Lock Stitch?

THE WHEELER & WILSON MACHINE.

What is the "Chain Stitch?"

Here is a picture of it.



No. 2.—CHAIN STITCH.

It is such a stitch as the ladies make in knitting and crocheting, and it can be ravelled in the same way.

Is it much used in sewing?

No; because the seams made with it pull out so easily. Think of garments coming apart when one is in the street.

How much thread does it take for a yard of seam?

About four and a half yards, or nearly twice as much as the "Lock Stitch."

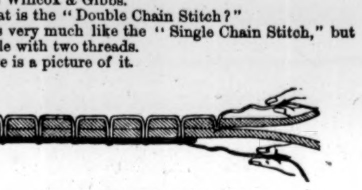
What is the principal machine making this stitch?

The Willcox & Gibbs.

What is the "Double Chain Stitch?"

It is very much like the "Single Chain Stitch," but is made with two threads.

Here is a picture of it.



No. 3.—DOUBLE CHAIN STITCH.

Can it be ravelled?

Yes, and shows a ridge on one side.

What makes that ridge on the under side of the seam?

It is the looping and knotting of the two threads used.

Does that do any harm?

Yes; it wears off when garments are washed and ironed. It does not look well unless as embroidery. No one would like a handkerchief hemmed with it, or any seam made that shows. A handsome stitch, you know, only shows a single line of thread.

How much thread does it take for a yard of seam?

About six and one-half (6½) yards. The most of any machine.

What machine makes this stitch?

The Grover & Baker.

Who use Sewing Machines?

The Wheeler & Wilson are used by Seamstresses, Dress Makers, Tailors, Manufacturers of Shirts, Collars, Skirts, Cloaks, Mantillas, Clothing, Hats, Caps, Corsets, Ladies' Boots and Shoes, Linen Goods, Umbrellas, Parasols, etc. They work equally well upon silk, linen, woollen and cotton goods, with silk, cotton or linen thread. They will seam, quilt, gather, hem, fell, cord, braid, bind, and perform every species of sewing, making a beautiful and perfect stitch, alike on both sides of the article sewed.

How many Wheeler & Wilson machines have been sold?

Nearly 300,000.

How fast can the machine work?

The WHEELER & WILSON COMPANY has prepared tables showing, by actual experiments of four different workers, the time required to stitch each part of a garment by hand, and with the Wheeler & Wilson Sewing Machine. Subjoined is a summary of several of the tables:

	BY MACHINE. Hours.	Minutes.	BY HAND. Hours.	Minutes.
Gentlemen's Shirts	1	16	14	26
Frock Coats	2	38	16	35
Satin Vests	1	14	7	19
Linen Vests	0	48	5	14
Cloth Pants	0	51	5	10
Summer Pants	0	38	2	50
Silk Dress	1	13	8	27
Merino Dress	1	4	8	27
Calico Dress	0	57	6	37
Chemise	1	1	10	31
Moreen Skirt	0	35	7	28
Muslin Skirt	0	30	7	1
Drawers	0	28	4	6
Night Dress	1	7	10	2
Silk Apron	0	15	4	16
Plain Apron	0	9	1	26

NUMBER OF STITCHES MADE PER MINUTE.

	By Hand.	With Machine.	Ratio.
Stitching Fine Linen	23	640	28
Stitching Satin	24	520	22
Stitching Silk	30	550	18
Seaming Fine Cloth	18	594	15
Patent Leather, fine Stitching	7	175	25
Fitting Ladies' Gaiters	28	510	18
Stitching Shoe Vamps	10	210	21
Binding Hats	33	374	11

When the machines are driven by power, the ratio is much higher—1,500 and 2,000 stitches per minute not being an unusual average.

Think how much time is saved by using the machines.

MATHEMATICAL PROBLEMS.

The proportion of thread used in making the various stitches is as follows:

"Lock Stitch" 1, "Chain Stitch" 1 8-10ths, "Double Chain Stitch" 2 5-10ths.

Prob. 1. If a "Lock Stitch" machine uses 10 cents worth of thread and silk in a day, how much would it use in a year of 300 working days? Answer, $30.

Prob. 2. How much would a "Chain Stitch" machine use in doing the same amount of sewing? Ans. $54 worth.

Prob. 3. How much would a "Double Chain Stitch" machine use in doing the same amount of sewing? Ans. $75 worth.

Prob. 4. There will be ultimately at least a million of sewing machines used in the country. At the above rate, what value of thread and silk would be used annually if all of one kind were used? Ans. "Lock Stitch," $30,000,000; "Chain Stitch," $54,000,000; "Double Chain Stitch," $75,000,000.

Prob. 5. What value of thread would be wasted by the "Chain Stitch?" Ans. $24,000,000.

Prob. 6. What value would be wasted by the "Double Chain Stitch?" Ans. $45,000,000.

Prob. 7. If there be 6,000,000 of families in the United States, how much would it cost to send each a weekly newspaper at $1 50. Ans. $9,000,000.

Prob. 8. How much to send a monthly magazine at $2 00. Ans. $12,000,000.

Prob. 9. How much would remain of the $45,000,000 of waste for Missionary, Educational and Charitable purposes. Ans. $24,000,000.

Is it wicked to waste things? Yes.

Then what sewing machine should be used? Ans. WHEELER AND WILSON'S LOCK STITCH SEWING MACHINE.

Advertisements.

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Miscellaneous Department.

SONG.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

THE harp at Nature's advent strung
Has never ceased to play ;
The song the stars of morning sung
Has never died away.

And prayer is made, and praise is given,
By all things near and far :
The ocean looketh up to heaven,
And mirrors every star.

Its waves are kneeling on the strand,
As kneels the human knee,
Their white locks bowing to the sand,
The priesthood of the sea !

They pour their glittering treasures forth,
Their gifts of pearl they bring,
And all the listening hills of earth
Take up the song they sing.

The green earth sends her incense up
From many a mountain shrine ;
From folded leaf and dewy cup
She pours her sacred wine.

The mists above the morning rills
Rise white as wings of prayer ;
The altar curtains of the hills
Are sunset's purple air.

The winds with hymns of praise are loud,
Or low with sobs of pain,
The thunder-organ of the cloud,
The dropping tears of rain.

With drooping head and branches crossed
The twilight forest grieves,
Or speaks with tongues of Pentecost
From all its sunlit leaves.

The blue sky is the temple's arch,
Its transept earth and air,
The music of its starry march
The chorus of a prayer.

So Nature keeps the reverent frame
With which her years began,
And all her signs and voices shame
The prayerless heart of man.

—"*The Tent on the Beach.*"

FIRST GRENADIER OF FRANCE.

FOR many a year there was a touching and beautiful custom to be witnessed in a certain regiment of French grenadiers, which was meant to commemorate the heroism of a departed comrade.

When the companies assembled for parade and the roll was called, there was one name to which its owner could not answer—it was that of La Tour d'Auvergne.

When it was called, the oldest sergeant present stepped a pace forward, and, raising his hand to his cap, said proudly :

"Died on the field of honor."

For fourteen years this custom was continued, and only ceased when the restored Bourbons, to please their foreign masters, forbade everything that was calculated to preserve the spirit of the soldiers of France.

La Tour d'Auvergne was not unworthy in life that honor thus paid him after his death. He was educated for the army, entered in 1767, and in 1781 served under the Duke de Crillon at the siege of Port Mahon. He served always with distinction, but constantly refused offers of promotion, saying that he was only fit for the command of a company of grenadiers ; but, finally, the various grenadier companies being united, he found himself in command of a body of eight thousand men, while retaining only the rank of captain.

Hence he was known as the first grenadier of France.

But it is of one particular exploit of his that we wish to write, more than his career in general.

When he was forty years of age he went on a visit to a friend, not far from a section of the country that was soon to become the scene of a campaign. While there, he was busy in acquainting himself with the country, thinking it not unlikely that this knowledge might be of use to him, and while here the brave grenadier was astonished to learn that the war had suddenly shifted to that quarter, and that a regiment of Austrians was pushing on to occupy a narrow pass about ten miles from where he was staying, and the possession of which would give them an opportunity to prevent an important movement of the French, which was then on foot. They hoped to surprise this post, and were moving so rapidly upon it that they were not more than two hours distant from the place where he was staying, and which they would have to pass in their march. It matters not how he heard the news. It is sufficient to say that he determined at once to act upon it.

He had no idea of being captured by the enemy in their advance, and he at once set off for the pass. He knew that the pass was defended by a stout tower and a garrison of thirty men, and he hoped to be able to warn the men of their danger.

He hastened on, and arriving there found the tower in a perfect condition. It had just been vacated by the garrison, who had heard of the approach of the Austrians, and had been seized with a panic thereat and had fled, leaving their arms, consisting of thirty excellent muskets.

La Tour d'Auvergne gnashed his teeth with rage as he discovered this. Searching in the building, he found several boxes of ammunition which the cowards had not destroyed. For a moment he was in despair, but then, with a grim smile, he began to fasten the main door and pile against it such articles as he could find.

When he had done this, he loaded all the guns he could find and placed them together, with a good supply of ammunition, under the loop-holes that commanded the road by which the enemy must advance.

Then he eat heartily of the provisions he had brought with him, and sat down to wait. He had absolutely formed the heroic resolution to defend the tower alone against the enemy.

There were some things in his favor in such an undertaking. The pass was steep and narrow, and the enemy's troops could enter it only in double files, and in doing this would be fully exposed to the fire from the tower. The original garrison of thirty men could easily have held it against a division, and now one man was about to hold it against a regiment.

It was dark when La Tour d'Auvergne searched the tower, and he had to wait some time for the enemy. They were longer in coming than he expected, and for a while he was tempted to believe they had abandoned the expedition.

About midnight, however, his practiced ear caught the tramp of feet. Every moment the sound came nearer, and at last he heard them entering the defile. Immediately he discharged a couple of muskets into the darkness to let them know that he knew of their presence and intentions, and he heard the quick, short commands of the officers, and from the sounds, he supposed the troops were retiring from the pass. Until the morning he was undisturbed. The Austrian commander, feeling assured that the garrison had been informed of his movements, and was prepared to receive him, saw that he could not surprise the post as he had hoped to do, and deemed it prudent to wait till daylight before making his attack.

At sunrise he summoned the garrison to surrender. A grenadier answered the summons.

"Say to your commander," he said, in reply to the messenger, "that this garrison will defend this pass to the last extremity."

The officer who had borne the flag of truce retired, and in about ten minutes a piece of artillery was brought into the pass and opened on the tower. But to effect this, the piece had to be placed directly in front of the tower, and within easy range of it. They had scarcely got the gun in position, when a rapid fire was opened on it from the tower, and continued with such marked effect that the piece was withdrawn after the second discharge, with loss of five men.

This was a bad beginning, so half an hour after the gun was withdrawn, the Austrian Colonel ordered an assault.

As the troops entered the defile they were received with a rapid and accurate fire, so that when they had passed over half the distance they had to traverse, they had lost fifteen men. Disheartened by this, they returned to the mouth of the defile.

Three more assaults were repulsed in this manner, and the enemy by sunset had lost forty-five men, of whom ten were killed.

The firing from the tower had been rapid and accurate, but the Austrian commander had noticed this peculiarity about it—every shot seemed to come from the same place. For a while this perplexed him, but at last he came to the conclusion that there was a number of loop-holes close together in the tower, so constructed as to command the ravine perfectly.

At sunset the last assault was made and repulsed, and at dark the Austrian commander sent a second summons to the garrison.

This time the answer was favorable. The garrison offered to surrender at sunrise the next morning if allowed to march out with their arms and return to the army unmolested. After some hesitation, the terms were accepted.

Meantime La Tour d'Auvergne had passed an anxious day in the tower. He had opened the fight with thirty loaded muskets ; but had not been able to discharge them all. He had fired with surprising rapidity, but with surprised accuracy, for it was well known in the army that he had never thrown away a shot. He had determined to stand to his post until he had accomplished his end, which was to hold the place twenty-four hours, in order to allow the French Army time to complete its manœuvre. After that he knew the pass would be of no consequence to the enemy.

When the demand for a surrender came to him after the last assault, he consented to it upon the conditions named.

The next day at sunrise the Austrian troops lined the pass in two files, extending from the mouth to the tower, leaving a space between them for the garrison to pass out.

The heavy door of the tower opened slowly, and in a few minutes a bronzed and scarred grenadier, literally loaded down with muskets, came out and passed down the line of troops. He walked with difficulty under his heavy load.

To the surprise of the Austrians no one followed him from the tower.

In astonishment the Austrian Colonel rode up to him, and asked in French, why the garrison did not come out.

"I am the garrison, Colonel," said the soldier proudly.

"What!" exclaimed the Colonel, "do you mean to tell me that you alone have held that tower against me ?"

"I have had the honor, Colonel," was the reply.

"What possessed you to make such an attempt grenadier ?"

"The honor of France was at stake."

The Colonel gazed at him for a moment with undisguised admiration. Then, raising his cap, he said warmly :

"Grenadier, I salute you. You have proved yourself the bravest of the brave."

The officer caused all the arms which La Tour d'Auvergne could not carry to be collected, and sent them all, with the grenadier, into the French lines, together with a note relating the whole affair.

When the knowledge of it came to the ears of Napoleon he offered to promote La Tour d'Auvergne, but the latter declined to accept the promotion, saying he preferred to remain where he was.

The brave soldier met his death in an action at Aberhausen in June, 1800, and the simple and expressive scene at roll-call in his regiment was commenced and continued by the express command of the Emperor himself.

THE NEW MARRIAGE LAW IN ITALY.

As may be supposed, few laws that have emanated from the government of the kingdom of Italy have inflicted a more severe blow on the Church of Rome than this, and we cannot wonder that the Sacred College resented it strongly. The thunder of the Vatican rolled through the land when it was promulgated, the echoes being taken up by many pulpits. The peasantry were warned that marriages contracted under this law would not be recognized by the Church, and that children born of them would be illegitimate. Some persons, of course, were alarmed by this language, and although obliged to have recourse to the civil authorities to be married, were careful to make the marriage religiously binding by a second ceremony in the church ; but a large proportion of the people take no heed of their priests' remonstrances and threatened punishments, and feel no conscientious scruples by being married in the municipality of their town or city.

It is probable that the ready acceptance of this new law by the people has been in a great measure due to the circumstance that no marriage fees, beyond the slight cost of a stamp, are exacted by the government. The new law, moreover, requires all marriages to be celebrated in public, at the municipality of the city or town ; and, as the ceremony is one of the sights of Florence, I determined on seeing it. The upholsterer has expended much art on the "Hall of Matrimony," and the result is an apartment which fairly astonishes plain contadini. It is, indeed, almost ludicrous to see their amazed expression when they are desired to sit on the gilded chairs covered with crimson silk, placed for the accomodation of those about to be united in wedlock. To look even on such grandeur would be considered a privilege ; but for contadini to occuppy such seats surpasses their comprehension.

On one occasion I saw a couple fresh from the vineyard, the marks of toil strong on them, turn aside from these gilded chairs when invited to occupy them ; and so impossible did it appear to their simple minds that they were to sit on them, that it was necessary for a clerk in attendance to almost force them into their appointed places. There are eight of these grand chairs provided ; they are disposed in two rows, the four in front being arm chairs, and more expensively got up than those at their back, which are armless. The ceiling of the apartment is ornamented with Venuses and Cupids, who look down with a very sweet expression of approval on the proceedings. When the couples about to be married are seated, the witnesses occupying ordinary chairs on their right, the syndic, or his deputy, enters from an adjoining room, wearing round his waist a tri-colored silk scarf, and taking his seat at a table opposite the candidates for matrimony, the ceremony commences. This consists in a clerk at a table on the right of the snydic reading, or gabbling rather, certain legal forms, which when I was present occupied about three minutes. A book was then placed before the snydic, the couples and witnesses signed their names, or, in cases of defective education, made marks, the snydic disappeared through the adjoining doorway, and the business was over ; so quickly, too, that some newly-married couples stuck to their seats, evidently entirely unconscious that they had been made one ; and it was only when the clerk said in a loud voice, "All is over, you may go,"—that they began to realize the fact that they were indeed married.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.

THE annual meeting of this Society was held at No. 74 Franklin street, Boston, the President Dr. Jarvis, in the chair.

Letters of acceptance were read from Hon. Hugh McCulloch of Washington, D. C., as an honorary, and Prof. Edward E. Salisbury of New Haven, Ct., as a corresponding member, to which they had been elected by the Society.

Lyman Mason, the Treasurer, made his annual report, by which it appears that there is on hand, besides the invested funds, $596 25.

A Nominating Committee was appointed, who reported the following list of officers for the ensuing year, viz. :

Edward Jarvis, M.D., of Dorchester, President ; Hon. Amasa Walker, A.M., of North Brookfield, and J. Wingate Thornton, A.M. of Boston, Vice-Presidents ; Rev. Rufus Anderson, D.D., of Boston, Corresponding Secretary ; John W. Dean of Medford, Recording Secretary ; Lyman Mason, A.M., of Boston, Treasurer ; Wm. B. Towne of Brookline, Librarian ; Hon. Samuel H. Walley, A.M., of Boston, Ebenezer Alden, M.D., of Randolph, and Hon. George S. Hale, A.M., of Boston, Counsellors.

The list was balloted for and unanimously elected.

The President read a paper, prepared for the Association by James Stark, M.D., of Edinburgh, Scotland, a corresponding member and principal director of the General Registry Office of Scotland, on the Influence of Marriage on Life and Mortality.

This was the result of Dr. Stark's observation and comparisons of the living population with the deaths in Scotland through a period of nine years. Among 100,000 living of each sex, in each class of the married and single, and in each quinquennial period, it was found that of the males 597 married and 1,174 unmarried died in each year between 20 and 25 years of age. Between 30 and 35, the deaths were 865 married and 1,369 unmarried. The difference in favor of married life diminished with the advance of age, yet was maintained to old age, when between 75 and 80 the deaths were 1,168 married and 1,454 single men on an average in each year among 100,000 of each class.

Among the males above 20 years old, the average duration of life was for the married 59.7 years, and for the single 40 years. Among those above 25 years, the average was 60.2 years for the married, and 47.7 years for the unmarried.

Among the females the difference was slightly in favor of single life from 15 to 30, and from 40 to 45, but in all other periods, from 30 to 40, and from 45 to 95, the difference was greater in favor of married life ; and, including all periods, marriage adds largely to the longevity of women.

The tables of Dr. Stark show that, contrary to the common opinion, and notwithstanding the additional cares and burdens of a family, the more regular and comfortable life of the husband gives him a great protection against the dangers that beset the bachelor, and adds to his longevity nearly 100 per cent. after 20, and about 50 per cent. after 30 years of age.

During the earlier years of married life, when the first children are born, and at the middle period, when the constitution goes through some changes, married women suffer a slight loss of life in comparison with their single sisters ; but for them as well as for men, the connubial state is, on the whole, the safest from danger, and increases their days on earth.

The association voted to publish this most important paper in the Boston *Medical and Surgical Journal*, through which it will reach all the medical profession and through them the whole community.

THE SORROWS OF MARY.

DEDICATED TO THE MOTHERS WHO HAVE LOST SONS IN THE WAR.

BY MRS. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

I SLEPT, but my heart was waking,
And out in my dreams I sped,
Through the streets of an ancient city,
Where Jesus, the Lord, lay dead.

He was lying all cold and lowly,
And the sepulchre was sealed,
And the women that bore the spices
Had come from the holy field.

There is feasting in Pilate's palace,
There is revel in Herod's hall,
Where the lute and the sounding instrument
To mirth and wassail call.

I saw a light from a casement,
And entered a lowly door,
Where a woman stricken and mournful,
Sat in sackcloth on the floor.

There Mary, the mother of Jesus,
And John, the beloved one,
With a few poor friends beside them,
Were mourning for him that was gone.

And before the mother was lying
That crown of cruel thorn,
Wherewith they crowned that gentle brow
In mockery that morn.

And her ears yet ring with the anguish
Of that last dying cry,
That mighty appeal of agony
That shook both earth and sky.

And was he of God forsaken ?
They ask, appalled with dread,
Is evil crowned and triumphant,
And goodness vanquished and dead ?

Is there then no God in Jacob ?
Is the star of Judah dim ?
For who would our God deliver,
If he would not deliver Him ?

If God *could* deliver—what hope then ?
If he *would* not—who ever shall dare
To be firm in His service hereafter ?
To trust in His wisdom or care ?

So darkly the tempter was saying
To hearts that with sorrow were dumb,
And the poor souls were clinging in darkness to God,
With hands that with anguish were numb.

* * * * * *

In my dreams came the third day morning,
And fairly the day-star shone ;
But fairer the solemn angel,
As he rolled away the stone.

In the lowly dwelling of Mary,
In the dusky twilight chill,
There was heard the sound of coming feet,
And her very heart grew still.

And in the glimmer of dawning
She saw him enter the door,
Her son, all living and real,
Risen, to die no more !

O, mourning mothers so many,
Weeping o'er sons that are dead,
Have you thought of the sorrows of Mary's heart ?
Of the tears that Mary shed ?

Is the crown of thorns before you ?
Are there memories of cruel scorn ?
Of hunger, and thirst, and bitter cold,
That your beloved have borne ?

O, mourning mothers so many,
Weeping in bitter pain,
Have you thought of the joy of Mary's heart
For a son that was risen again ?

Have ye ever thought that all the hopes
To make our lives so fair,
Were born in those three darksome days
Of Mary's deep despair ?

Have faith in the Lord of the thorny crown,
In the Lord of pierced hand,
For he reigneth now o'er earth and heaven,
And His power who may withstand !

And the hopes that never on earth shall bloom,
The sorrows forever new,
Lay silently down at the feet of Him
Who died and is risen for you.

THE GHOSTS TO BE MADE VISIBLE—SPIRITUALISM IN THE PATENT OFFICE.—Says a Washington correspondent : "A curious application for a patent has been made by a New Yorker for a process to determine the falsity or truth of spiritualism. It consists of a room closed perfectly, so that all light and air is effectually excluded, except air for breathing, which is admitted from a stop-cock, opened from time to time. Light is only admitted by being passed through a dark blue, violet or black liquid ; so that the room is perfectly dark to the unaccustomed eye, but becomes slightly illuminated when remaining long in it, the inventor asserting that the particles of common light are much too heavy and solid compared with the much finer constitutents of the bodies of spirits ; therefore common light passes through them and is not reflected from their surface ; to see spirits at all the light must be filtered. The room is to be painted with spirits of turpentine or any other spirits mixed with substances akin to carbon. The inventor asserts that with these precautions it may become possible for the inmates of the room to see spirits, forms or ghosts. He claims the use of filtered light in a closed room for the purpose of divination. The patent was refused on the ground that when a company of persons were for some time enclosed in such a room, without sufficient air to breathe, they will not only see ghosts, but also give up their own."

ELOQUENCE.—There are no people in the world with whom eloquence is so universal as with the Irish. When Leigh Ritchie was travelling in Ireland, he passed a man who was a painful spectacle of pallor, squalor, and raggedness. His heart smote him, and he tured back.

"If you are in want," said Ritchie, "why don't you beg ?"

"Surely, it's beggin' I am, yer honor."

"You don't say a word."

"Av course not, yer honor ; but see how the skin is spakin' through the trowsers ! and the bones cryin' out through me skin ! Look at me sunken cheeks, and the famine that's starin' in me eyes ! Man alive, isn't it beggin' I am wid a thousand tongues ?"

HOW TO LIVE EASILY.—The art of living easily, as to money, is to pitch your scale of living one degree below your means. Comfort and enjoyment are more dependent upon easiness in the detail of expenditure than upon any degree in the scale. Guard against false associations of pleasure with expenditure—the notion is absurd that because pleasure can be purchased with money, therefore money cannot be spent without enjoyment. What a thing costs a man is no true measure of what it is worth to him ; and yet how often is his appreciation governed by no other standard, as if there were a pleasure in expenditure *per se*. Let yourself feel a want before you provide against it. You are more assured that it is a real want, and it is worth while to feel it a little in order to feel relief from it. When you are undecided as to which of the two courses you would like best, choose the cheapest. This rule will not only save money, but save also a good deal of trifling indecision. Too much leisure leads to expense ; because when a man is in want of objects, it occurs to him that they are to be had for money, and he invents expenditure in order to pass the time.—*Henry Taylor.*

MR. SAMUEL WARREN, LL.D., Recorder of Hull, and author of "Ten Thousand a Year," in a letter to a gentleman in Hull, offers a suggestion relative to coal, the practical benefits of which he has proved by seven years experience. He says : Do you wish to have the full benefit—that is, without waste—of every ounce of coal you pay for ; to save nearly one-third of your ordinary consumption ; to have a fire lit in the morning, which, with a little care, will last nearly the whole of the day, with possibly a single replenishing, and so save trouble as well as coal, and have warmth equally distributed through your apartment, great or small—then attend to the following practical suggestion, upon which I have acted at home with complete success, and have, with a like result, recommended to very many friends. The suggestion is not my own ; I met with it seven years ago in the *Builder*, a valuable London journal. Ordinary fire-grates have open bars at the bottom, the result of which, of course, is to place the coal between the two draughts, one from below and the other from above, up the chimney, and ensure two things, rapid consumption, and diminished heat in the apartment. When I arrived at my hotel last Wednesday afternoon a bitter cold day—I found a large fire, which was twice replenished before I went to bed. The coal was excellent, but I could scarcely get warm. I prevailed on my worthy landlord to try my experiment on my fire-grate here. He has done so, and with what result ? Ask him. But I will tell you that to-day my fire was made up at 10 a.m. It is now 5 p.m. I have enjoyed, and am enjoying a most comfortable warmth, without having to sit within a yard of the fire. Not an ounce of additional coal has been placed on it, nothing having been required but now and then, at long intervals, a poke from beneath and a pressing down from above. Now, how is this brought about ? I will tell you. Send for an ironmonger or blacksmith, and order him to take the measure of the bottom of your grate and make you a sheet-iron plate of about the sixth of an inch in thickness, or even less, which, if your grate be large, will cost you 2s. Simply lay this on the bottom of the grate, then let your servant lay and light your fire as usual. It will soon burn up, but you must keep pretty open the lowest bar, to secure a slight draught. When the fire has begun to burn, poke it gently from beneath, and the flame will gradually get through the entire mass of coal, the iron plate beneath gets red hot, and so keeps up a constant combustion, at the same time dispersing the heat through the room, instead of its being sent up the chimney, thus entirely consuming the coal, instead of filling the hearth with ashes. In my own house I tried the experiment for a week in the breakfast-room, then in the dining-room, then in the kitchen, with uniform and complete success ; and then I had the sheet iron plate put into every fire-place—and there are many throughout the house—with equal success. So I do with the fireplace in my official residence. When the fire is once made up, say about ten a.m., for the day, an occasional poke, and possibly a single replenishment, suffices for the day. In my own case, and also at my hotel here, where three scuttles were required, one now suffices."

FRENCH LAWYERS AND THEIR CLIENTS.—M. Paul Girard, in a sketch of the eminent French advocate, Maitre Emmanuel Arago, gives a curious illustration of the license which the members of the bar in that country occasionally allow themselves on behalf of their clients. The case in which M. Arago first made a reputation was the trial of a young man, named Huber, and Mlle. Laure Gouvelle, for a plot against Louis Phillippe. M. Arago, in defending the former, exclaimed, "Huber is a man whom I esteem, whom I love, whom I shall never forget, as I hope he will never forget me—a man, gentlemen, whom I could desire to be my brother. Surely you will give him back to me." And at the close of this singular peroration the impassioned counsel fell upon his client's neck and embraced him. The jury, however, took their own view of the case, and returned a verdict of guilty. When the prisoners appeared to receive sentence, M. Arago again hugged his client, while M. Jules Favre, who defended M. Gouvelle, fell into her arms and kissed her. "In fact," as M. Girard remarks, "there was a great deal of embracing in that case."

WHY THE SKY IS BLUE.—It is generally supposed that the blue color of the sky is due to moisture in our atmosphere, and the idea seems to be confirmed by the intensity of the color during the moist weather of Summer, when compared with the sky of the more dry weathered Winter. It has recently been shown by Prof. Cooke, of Cambridge, in a paper read to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, that this view is correct. He has found by means of the spectroscope, a very delicate instrument of analysis, by which the utmost minute substances, even when at a distance, can be detected, that the aqueous vapor of the atmosphere absorbs most powerfully the yellow and red rays emanating from the sun, leaving the blue rays to be transmitted, and thus accounting for the color of the sky. The instrument also proves that the color is due to simple absorption of these rays by the water, and not to repeated reflections from the surface of an infinity of drops, as has been supposed.

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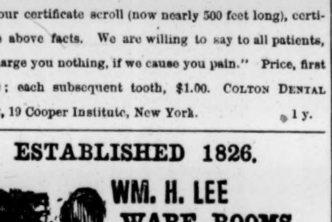

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